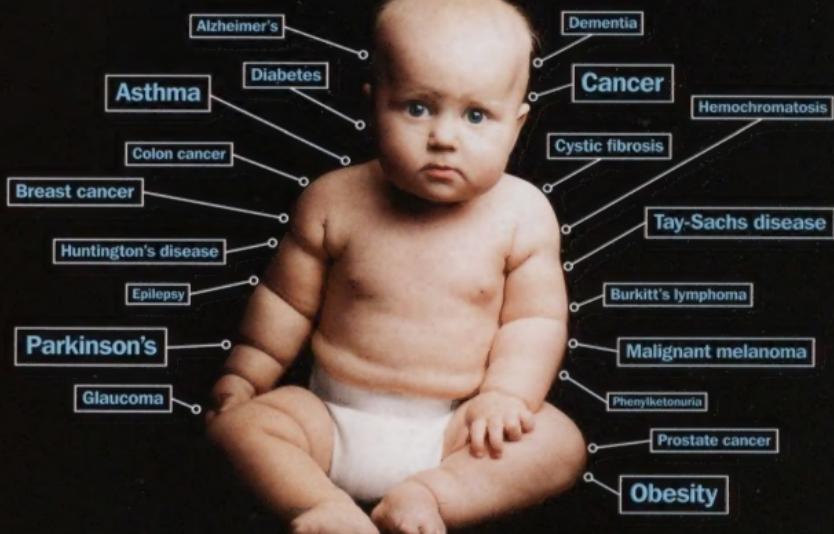


Egypt Divided / Pot's Big Moment / Best of 2012

DECEMBER 24, 2012
Movies, Music,
Books & More

TIME

Want to Know My Future?



New genetic tests can point to risks—but not always a cure

BY BONNIE ROCHMAN



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TIME

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A protester in Cairo wears a hard hat with a sticker showing President Mohamed Morsi and the word leave. Photograph by Alessio Romenzi for TIME

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TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published weekly, except for two issues combined at year-end, by Time Inc., Proprietary Office: Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, NY 10020-2193. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. Canada Post Publications Mail Agreement No. 40110178. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to: Postal Box A, P.O. Box 4322, Toronto, Ont., M3B 3G2. GST #R883858212T0001. © 2012 Time Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is prohibited. TIME and the Red Border Design are protected through trademark registration in the United States and the foreign countries where TIME magazine circulates. U.S. subscriptions: \$49 for one year. Subscribers: If we the Postal Service alerts us that your magazine is undeliverable, we have no further obligation on unless we receive a corrected address within two years. Postmaster: Send address changes to P.O. Box 62120, Tampa, FL 33662-2120. CUSTOMER SERVICE AND SUBSCRIPTIONS—For 24/7 service, please use our website: www.time.com/customerservice. You can also call 1-800-843-1392 or write to TIME, P.O. Box 62120, Tampa, FL 33662-2120. Mailing list: We make a portion of our mailing list available to reputable firms. If you would prefer that we not include your name, please call, or write us at P.O. Box 62120, Tampa, FL 33662-2120, or send us an e-mail at privacy@time.customerservice.com. Printed in the U.S.



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Inbox

MAIL



Playing Hardball

Perhaps your cover line should have asked, HOW FAR WILL ROGER GOODELL GO TO RUIN THE GAME OF FOOTBALL? [Dec. 17]. Of course,

every rule change that lessens impact contributes to the safety of the players. Reducing the speed limit on U.S. highways to 25 m.p.h. would contribute to the safety of drivers too. The players know the risks of playing football, and they are very well compensated for taking those risks. Let's just get on with the game and keep Goodell on the bench.

Bill Voegle, PITTSBURGH

I applaud Goodell's efforts to protect and preserve the game. His idea to replace the kickoff is a good one that will be met with much resistance. It is disturbing to learn about the links between the NFL and chronic traumatic encephalopathy, and Goodell is doing what any good leader would do: mitigate the risks.

TheOtherWhiteMeat, ON TIME.COM

By his actions, Goodell has shown that he has an obvious love for the game and the utmost respect for it. The way he addressed the New Orleans Saints bounty case was a prime example of why he is the right man for this job, and I look forward to his steady, firm leadership for many years to come.

Jeff Swanson, EVERETT, WASH.

As a 19-year Philadelphia Eagles season-ticket holder, I have seen the NFL taken over by brutality and outright violence. Some players care more about how hard they hit than they do about winning. (Witness the applause on the sidelines, in the form of helmet tapping, after a severe hit.) Players covering punts and kickoffs are called gunners. Cut these specialists, reduce the team rosters to 40 and use regulars to cover kicks. Aggression will ease, and so will concussions.

Joe Miegoc, CARBONDALE, PA.

Fiscal Forecast

Paul Ryan has spent his entire working life on the government payroll, enjoying all the benefits and security he claims should not be extended to ordinary

TIME stories that elicited the most mail

Rob Long
on GOP losses

NFL commissioner
Roger Goodell

Paul Ryan,
Cliff Hanger

CONCUSSIONS, BOUNTIES, REPLACEMENT
REFS. AND NOW ANOTHER PLAYER
TRAGEDY FOR THE NFL COMMISSIONER.
THE PROBLEMS KEEP PILING UP

CAN ROGER GOODELL SAVE FOOTBALL?

BY SEAN GREGORY

PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFF DOWD



THE CONVERSATION

'That's like taking the goalpost out of the stadium.'

Cleveland Browns kick returner **Josh Cribbs** said this in response to TIME's Dec. 17 cover story,

"**Can Roger Goodell Save Football?**" in which the NFL commissioner told writer **Sean Gregory** he is considering banning the kickoff, a frequent source of serious football injuries. Some pundits praised Goodell's willingness to speak up for safety—with ESPN's **Chris Mortensen** going so far as to predict that the controversial proposal had a "100%" chance of being implemented—while others were moved by details about the commissioner's personal life, including his lifelong defense of his gay brother against bullies. But, by far, the proposed ban kicked off the most and sorest squabbling. "To take that out of the game would be the stupidest thing they would ever do," Hall of Famer **Mike Ditka** said on a radio sports show. "I think they should move the kickoff back to the 15-yard line and make more of them happen."



Up Next

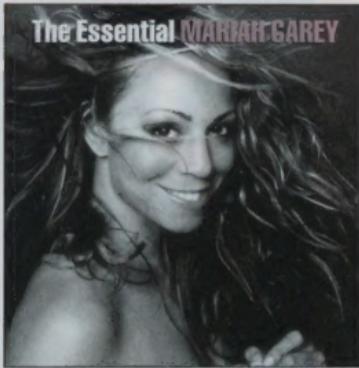
Over the last two weeks of December, TIME's photo blog, LightBox, will post a series of galleries looking back at the year's most striking images. Included are the top 10 photos of 2012, the best of TIME's portraiture and commissioned photojournalism, the wire photographer of the year and the launch—at midnight on Jan. 1—of 366: A Year in Photos. To see the images, including the one we picked for leap day, go to lightbox.time.com.



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citizens ["Cliff Hanger," Dec. 17]. His Do-as-I-say-not-as-I-do sermon has been a tough sell and won't get any easier if he decides to run for President.

Kenneth Lee, RAYTOWN, MO.

Misguided Mergers

Rana Foroohar's assessment of corporate mergers is spot-on ["The Art of the Bad Deal," Dec. 17]. I saw it happen at Xerox, where I worked for 34 years. First they outsourced, then sold off manufacturing and then engineering. The people in management rake in millions but don't want to get their hands dirty.

Lawrence H. Herka, ROCHESTER, N.Y.

Mexico's New President

Enrique Peña Nieto has pursued violent repression against Mexican citizens who have challenged his victory in the 2012 presidential election ["10 Questions," Dec. 17]. Even though Peña Nieto's manifesto "Por una Presidencia Democrática" (For a Democratic Presidency) indicates his commitment to things like freedom of expression, how is Mexico going to become a true democracy when political dissidents are being silenced and put in jail?

Esther Quintana, COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS

Disputed Territory

The Senkaku Islands were not annexed as a consequence of the Sino-Japanese War, as was written by Fareed Zakaria in "The China Syndrome" [Nov. 26]. They were incorporated into Japan's territory by way of occupation of *terra nullius* (no-man's-land) by a Japanese Cabinet decision that preceded the end of the war, in full accordance with international law after a decade of government surveys that found no trace of China's presence on the islands. I believe this matter is grave because if Japan had acquired the Senkaku Islands as a consequence of the war—effectively as wartime booty—then TIME considers them to have been part of China before the war, which is exactly what China is asserting in its claims of sovereignty.

Fumio Iwai, Consulate General of Japan,
NEW YORK CITY



LIGHTBOX

Syria, Behind the Scenes

When TIME's photo blog asked 28 photojournalists to talk about which of their images from the conflict in Syria moved them the most, Reuters' Asmaa Waguih described witnessing a rebel (above) catapulting a homemade bomb at supporters of President Bashar Assad. "Nothing is fixed in Aleppo, not the location of pro-government forces nor the position of rebels ... All of a sudden, I caught sight of this guy, and I went over." There was a short pause, Waguih said, "and boom." Alessio Romenzi spoke of the woman (top) he photographed for TIME in Homs province after a mortar attack killed two of her sons. "They're not guilty of anything," he said. "It was just a family sitting in their house." Thousands of social-media users were moved by the "Syria's Agony" photo gallery. "Truly remarkable, haunting," wrote one Twitter user; another asked, "How can you possibly not cry watching this?" To see the rest of the series, go to lightbox.time.com.

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Briefing

'Dear friends, I am pleased to get in touch with you through Twitter. Thank you for your generous response. I bless all of you from my heart.'

1. **POPE BENEDICT XVI**, using the Twitter handle @Pontifex, on Dec. 12 in his first tweet

'What they're really talking about is giving you the right to work for less money.'

2. **PRESIDENT OBAMA**, at a Michigan auto plant, railing against a new right-to-work law that reduces the clout of organized labor in the traditionally pro-union state

'The campaign is already on.'

3. **SILVIO BERLUSCONI**, former Italian Prime Minister who resigned amid scandal last year and was later convicted of tax fraud, declaring his intention to run for his old job

'The thought that we may have played a part in that is gut-wrenching.'

4. **MEL GREIG**, Australian radio personality, recounting how she felt after learning that Jacintha Saldanha, a London hospital nurse caring for Kate Middleton, committed suicide after being duped by a prank call from Greig and her co-host

'This entire case has been contaminated by the coaches and others in the Saints' organization.'

5. **PAUL TAGLIABUE**, former NFL commissioner, overturning the suspensions of four players connected to the New Orleans Saints' bounty program. Tagliabue was appointed to rule on the appeals of players punished in the scandal



\$576

Price per pound of cheese made from donkey milk; tennis star Novak Djokovic is buying the world's entire supply of the Serbian delicacy for his soon-to-open chain of restaurants

19%

Decrease in the number of chronically homeless people in the U.S. since 2007, according to a new report to Congress from the Department of Housing and Urban Development



54%

Percentage of Americans who said in a recent poll that they were concerned the fiscal cliff could cause Santa Claus to cut back on his gifts

\$258 BILLION

Projected amount raised by five tax increases over the next seven years as part of President Obama's health care law

Briefing

LightBox



Remainder of the day

Typhoon Haiyan, which has killed at least 10,000 people in the central Philippines, has been downgraded to a tropical storm. It was ravaged by a typhoon December 8, 2013, that claimed nearly 100 lives.

Photo credit: AP Photo/Bebeto Matthews, Photo Bureau, EPA
AP Wirephoto



World



A screen at North Korea's satellite control shows the Unha-3 rocket

Kim Jong Un Goes Orbital

1 | NORTH KOREA North Korea successfully launched a long-range satellite into orbit on Dec. 12, heightening concerns about the pariah state's growing ability to threaten its neighbors. The launch, which violates U.N. sanctions, allowed Pyongyang to test its developing ballistic-missile capabilities, angering the U.S. and its regional allies. The White House called the event "a highly provocative act that threatens regional security," while South Korean Foreign Minister Kim Sung-hwan termed it "a threat to peace on the Korean Peninsula and around the world." China—the one outside country that holds sway in Pyongyang—stopped short of condemning the launch but said it was "concerned." North Korea's previous attempt to launch a rocket failed in April, when it exploded shortly after liftoff. The latest launch, North Korea's most successful missile flight to date, indicates that it has resolved technical flaws that troubled previous rocket tests. Japanese officials said stages of the Unha-3 rocket landed in the Yellow Sea and 185 miles (300 km) east of the Philippines in the Pacific Ocean. The North American Aerospace Defense Command confirmed that the satellite appeared to have achieved orbit.

Future Shock

2 | U.S. A new report by the National Intelligence Council forecasts the state of the world in 2030. Among the predictions: the Chinese economy will have eclipsed the U.S.'s; Japan and Europe will continue their demographic declines; the threat of conflicts will increase as the global order fractures. Here are three more ways the world will be different in 2030:

1

The Asian middle class

The world's middle class will grow to 3 billion by 2030, buoyed by India and China, whose clout will reshape the globe

2

U.S. energy giant

The U.S. economy may fall from the top, but its booming natural gas and oil industries will see if become a net energy exporter

3

Climate change

Overpopulation and the effects of severe weather patterns will leave half the world's population facing water shortages



LAS VEGAS

'Hi, Manny.
I'm Mitt
Romney.
I ran for
President.
I lost.'

MITT ROMNEY, greeting Filipino boxer Manny Pacquiao before his fight with Juan Marquez. *Pacquiao* (below)





The Waiting Game

3 | SYRIA Far from war-ravaged Syria—where rebel fighters stepped up their offensive on Damascus while the regime of President Bashar Assad reportedly fired Scud missiles against rebel positions—members of the Syrian opposition held talks with Western diplomats at a golf resort outside the tourist hot spot of Marrakech, Morocco. The huddled conclave was boosted by President Barack Obama's Dec. 11 announcement of support for the new Syrian National Coalition (SNC), an umbrella group comprising

exiled dissidents that had already won formal recognition from France, the U.K. and the Gulf states. The U.S. and its European partners will provide more humanitarian and logistical aid, but Washington still resists calls to supply more-powerful weaponry to the rebellion. Despite securing the imprimatur of world leaders, the SNC faces its biggest challenge in winning credibility at home. Rebel fighters have long expressed cynicism about the comfortable distance from the front lines of their leadership in exile, accusing them of being all talk and

no action. A patchwork body of different factions, the SNC is still wrangling over who will run the country should Assad fall. "We are now discussing the idea of a government and the basis on which it should be established," SNC VP George Sabra tells TIME. The uncertainty is deepened by the growing presence of Islamist forces in the rebellion. The same week the U.S. recognized the SNC, Washington listed the Nusra Front, one of the most effective anti-Assad militias, as a terrorist group with al-Qaeda connections.

Syrian refugees forced from their homes by the nearly 21-month-long conflict cross the Orontes River into Turkey

U.S.
\$1.9 BILLION

Size of the record settlement paid by British bank HSBC after U.S. regulators found that the bank had allowed Mexican drug cartels, among other criminal groups, to launder money in the U.S.

Road to Rome

4 | ITALY Italian Prime Minister Mario Monti rattled markets on Dec. 8 when he announced that he will step down as soon as the 2013 budget is passed. The former economist's resignation follows the decision of Silvio Berlusconi's People of Freedom party to withdraw its support for Monti's government. Elections are expected by April. Here's a guide to the possible runners and riders:

Mario Monti

Monti, 68, was installed without an election in November 2011 and enjoyed some success. He has not confirmed that he intends to run.



Pier Luigi Bersani

The 61-year-old centrist candidate pledges to stick to Monti's reforms but hopes to soften their impact on the poor.



Silvio Berlusconi

Former PM Berlusconi, 76, aims to seize a fourth term despite being sentenced in October to four years in jail for tax evasion.



Beppe Grillo

Comedian turned political activist Grillo, 54, is the protest candidate, leading a party of young idealists with often pungent opinions.



Nation

Doomsday At a Glance What life will look like after the fiscal cliff

By Michael Crowley

The last time people were this nervous about the approach of the New Year, it was 1999 and the Y2K bug threatened to put the world's computers on the fritz. This year, with President Obama and Republicans in Congress struggling to agree on a long-term debt-reduction plan, the U.S. may go over the fiscal cliff on Jan. 1, when a range of automatic tax hikes and spending cuts totaling more than \$600 billion, or 4% of GDP, kick in all at once. Despite the dramatic metaphor, it's not a straight plunge. The cliff's slope is more forgiving: the cuts can be managed at first but will accelerate over time. Obama and the GOP might still cut a deal after the clock strikes midnight on Dec. 31, but the danger of lasting damage to the economy grows by the day. Here's how things might play out in January.

12:01 a.m.

Over the cliff

The expiration of Bush-era income tax cuts means a **tax hike** for all earners, with the top bracket hitting 39.6%. Taxes on capital gains and dividends also go up. A temporary payroll tax cut expires.

Stopped checks

The 2.1 million Americans who have been relying on a federal extension of their state unemployment insurance benefits find **no check** in their mailbox on the day it usually arrives.

Pay day

Millions of Americans get their first biweekly paycheck of 2013. In the absence of a deal, those checks are **at least 2% smaller**, thanks to the expiration of the payroll tax cut. That amounts to about \$40 per paycheck for someone earning \$50,000 a year.



Inauguration Day

Obama is inaugurated for a second term. The President's Nov. 6 re-election emboldens him to stand firm against Republican demands to keep tax rates for wealthy Americans at historic lows.

Stock markets reopen

The Dow plunges as Wall Street casts a vote of no confidence in a government that seems unable to compromise or even function. The fear ripples across economies in Asia, Latin America and Europe.

In a recent Bank of America survey of money managers, 4 out of 5 said they thought the stock market had not priced in the cliff's potential effects.

The 113th Congress is sworn in, including 95 new members elected in November. In theory, small Democratic gains make a deal between Congress and Obama slightly easier. In practice, **not so much.**

The sequester kicks in. That's the huge automatic cut in federal failure to reach a deficit-reduction deal in 2011. The sequester cuts 9.4% of defense spending and 8.2% of many other domestic programs (Medicaid, Medicare and Social Security are exempted). On Jan. 2 the White House tells departments and agencies how much to cut before the fiscal year ends on Sept. 30.

With the Bush tax cuts expired—including those for households earning less than \$250,000—millions of paychecks shrink further because of increased IRS withholding. Treasury Secretary Timothy Geithner stalls by not issuing new tax-withholding formulas. "There's some flexibility, [but] it's not unlimited authority," says Michael Mundaca, a former Assistant Treasury Secretary now at Ernst & Young.

Around Jan. 10, the White House's Office of Management and Budget unveils accounting gimmicks to delay the sequester's effects, temporarily sparing government programs and softening the economic impact of reduced spending. **Immediate hiring freezes** are announced, but the worst is delayed several weeks by shuffling dollars, tapping unspent funds and postponing planned cuts.

The Pentagon has been preparing for the sequester since Dec. 5, so it doesn't suffer a shock at first. Existing Pentagon contracts, many already funded, aren't immediately affected. New contracts are frozen until the budget standoff is resolved. Other cuts will eventually render hundreds of programs, projects and activities unsustainable but are delayed in the hope that a budget deal can be reached.

February and March

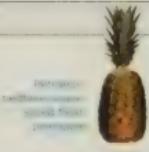
By February a crisis atmosphere takes hold. Workers feeling the pinch from smaller paychecks spend less, and federal budget cuts begin to slow the economy. Uncertainty over tax policy dampens the housing market. Moody's follows through on its recent warning about the cliff's "large, immediate fiscal shock" and downgrades U.S. debt. The Federal Reserve holds an emergency meeting to search for ways to prop up the economy but has few moves left to make.

The worst is yet to come: in February or March, the federal government hits its legal borrowing limit, last extended by Congress after a brutal standoff in the summer of 2011. This is Washington's last chance to get a budget deal done, since a default on the U.S.'s debt obligations could create a panic in global financial markets and cause a 2008-style economic collapse. It was the showdown over the debt ceiling in 2011 that created this mess to begin with. It may take another debt-limit crisis to end it.

Late January

As days turn into weeks with no deal, the stock market freaks out even more. The Obama Administration prepares deeper cuts to compensate for the delay and still hit the sequester's legally required targets. "At some point you have to catch up," says Bill Hoagland, a former top Senate budget aide now at the Bipartisan Policy Center. Employees at personnel-heavy federal agencies like the FBI and TSA get furlough notices.

Nation



General Disorders. Why some senior military officers are going off the rails

By Mark Thompson

WHEN MARINE GENERAL ANTHONY ZINNI became chief of U.S. Central Command in 1997, he was surprised to find a Navy commander working under him whose sole job was to keep track of Zinni's schedule. "You've got to be kidding me," Zinni recalls thinking before he eliminated the slot.

These days, a number of senior U.S. military officers wish they'd had Zinni's modesty and discretion. The most celebrated example is David Petraeus, who retired as a four-star Army general to run the CIA only to resign last month after his affair with his biographer surfaced. But Petraeus is no outlier. Admiral James Stavridis, the current NATO chief, toolled around the world in a Gulfstream V and a Boeing 737. Sometimes family members would tag along, including to a gathering of Burgundy enthusiasts in France. Officials disagreed about whether Stavridis was out of line: the Pentagon inspector general said he broke the rules; Navy Secretary Ray Mabus decided otherwise. But the vineyard junket derailed Stavridis' shot at becoming the Navy's top officer. In May 2010, Army General William

Ward, the head of U.S. Africa Command, turned a fuel stop in Bermuda into an overnight stay with his wife in a \$750 hotel suite. Ward had staff run his personal errands and recalled a former aide from across the Atlantic to plan a holiday party at Ward's official residence in Stuttgart, Germany. He repaid the government \$82,000 for those missteps and retired at a lower, three-star rank with a smaller pension. More recently, Army Brigadier General Jeffrey Sinclair has been charged with sexual misconduct—while in Afghanistan during a war—with five women, including four subordinates.

The spate of generals acting like caesars has led Defense Secretary Leon Panetta to order Army General Martin Dempsey, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to investigate whether top officers get too many perks. Pentagon officials say that rules governing travel and the size of support staff may be tightened but that wholesale changes are unlikely. And Panetta's move raised eyebrows in military circles. "I was surprised that Panetta turned to the Chairman" to look into the matter, says Ray DuBois, the Pentagon's

top administrator from 2002 to 2005. "Civilians should be looking at this."

Rank excess is normally an Army problem, Pentagon officials say, but the pattern of abuse has lately spread to the other services. The military's 37 four-star officers, like some of their private-sector counterparts, have cooks and drivers at home and jets and armored limousines (and, for Petraeus, sliced fresh pineapple before bedtime) while on the road. "I did become concerned about senior-officer perks and privileges as several senior officers came under investigation for alleged abuses of privileges," former Defense Secretary Robert Gates tells TIME. "But I was not so concerned that I took it on as an issue." Generals are not well paid by corporate standards. They can work 18-hour days, but their take-home pay is capped at \$179,700 a year. (The few who retire after 40 years in uniform take home \$236,650 annually.) They have some leeway on spending. Some stay at the Ritz when in the capital, while others prefer Embassy Suites. The recent uptick in cases of bad behavior is unusual because they surfaced at about the same time, but it doesn't represent an overall increase.

It is also true, though, that with each step up the military ladder, isolation grows. Officers can spend more than 30 grueling, competitive and dangerous years passing through nine ranks before obtaining a fourth star. The few who make it, a Navy admiral explains, may "come to believe their own cult of greatness." Petraeus once traveled to a party in Tampa escorted by 28 police motorcycles. Generals, especially those at war, are now creating their own mini-think tanks designed to make the boss shine. And they all have retainers: "horseholders" in Army parlance and "remoras" in Navy code, a reference to the suckerfish that shadow sharks at sea. "More generals," an Army colonel observes, "are being surrounded by yes-men." Says a Pentagon official ruefully: "And many of the commanders like it."

Retired Army officer Ralph Peters notes that the generals share something else: "In 11 years of warfare, no general officer has become a combat casualty." Lately, the self-inflicted wounds have been far more damaging.



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Business

When CEOs Play Santa Companies are racing to pay dividends before the fiscal cliff

AS ANY HOLIDAY SHOPPER KNOWS, CASH IS an easy gift. This season, some of America's biggest companies are feeling the giving spirit. From Whole Foods and Costco to Las Vegas Sands and Dish Network, dozens of big names are rushing to hand out extra money to shareholders before year's end in the form of special dividends. Why the sudden generosity? Two words: *fiscal cliff*. If Congress and the White House fail to reach a budget deal by the Dec. 31 deadline, it isn't just income tax rates that will automatically rise. Stock dividends would be taxed as high as 43% instead of the current 15%. Even if there is a deal, it could hike dividend taxes in 2013. CEOs know that helping shareholders lower their tax bills can earn investors' loyalty and give share prices a temporary boost. The question for investors is whether it's better to put cash toward future growth or bigger gifts under the tree.

—CHRISTOPHER MATTHEWS



Getting cash to shareholders is management's job, but these red flags signal when special dividends might not make sense.

CASH-HEAVY

A firm that can afford a special dividend may have mismanaged its cash.

PRICE PRESSURE

Special dividends can lower share prices by draining company funds.

INSIDE OWNERSHIP

Special-dividend payers tend to have more stock owned by their executives.

DEBT LOAD

A company borrowing heavily for a one-time payout may be overleveraged.

Who's Paying Special Dividends?

149 companies will pay a total of \$22 billion in the fourth quarter in special dividends. Even sectors like **health care** and **technology**, which usually reserve cash to fund future growth, are paying out



Q4 2011

149

45

38

17

15

5

10

Q4 2012

COMPANIES THAT PAID SPECIAL DIVIDENDS

FINANCIAL

Staid financial firms, which don't need cash for plants and equipment, were the biggest payers of special dividends, handing out an average of \$4.36 per share.

BUSINESS AND CONSUMER SERVICES

Companies like movie-theater chain Regal Entertainment Group and cruise operator Carnival Corp. paid out an average of \$246 million.

TECHNOLOGY

Tech companies, which tend to use cash to fuel expansion, paid \$2.85 per share on average.

RAW MATERIALS

Mining and oil companies paid an average of \$2.96 per share.

CONSUMER GOODS

Firms like Tyson Foods and Ethan Allen offered the lowest average dividend: \$1.54 per share.

INDUSTRIAL GOODS

This sector spent the least in total payouts, doing out an average of \$46 million per company.

HEALTH CARE

Medical companies issued an average of \$85 million.

CONGLOMERATE (1)

Stretch out. Wake up. Take on the day.



Fly in complete
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our new
Business Class
Full Flat Seat



Be refreshed and ready for business when you fly overseas with Lufthansa. Our new Full Flat Seat has a perfectly horizontal sleeping space offering unprecedented comfort. Welcome to the way flying was meant to be. Welcome to Nonstop you.



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Health

Diabetes Diet Making disease-fighting eating easier

By Alice Park

IT'S NOT THAT DOCTORS DON'T KNOW HOW TO treat diabetes; the right diet and medications to control blood sugar can certainly keep the severest symptoms under control. But regular blood checks are challenging, and watching what you eat is even harder. The latest research, however, provides hope for helping people on the verge of developing Type 2 diabetes stick with a low-fat, low-calorie diet that may prevent the disease.

A decade ago, scientists showed that prediabetics who changed their diet and exercised regularly lowered their risk of the disease by 58%, a greater benefit than from medications designed to keep blood-glucose levels in check. But that study involved intensive one-on-one sessions in a lab setting—not a practical solution for the 79 million people in the U.S. who are currently the most vulnerable to developing the disease. So the new trial focused more on the ways people diet in the real world. Prediabetic volunteers took part in group sessions to learn about healthy diet and exercise habits or educated themselves about those strategies using a DVD as well as e-mail and online counseling. Both groups lost more weight and controlled their prediabetes better than those who were provided with the standard diabetes care (basically medication and doctor weigh-ins). Those taking part in the group sessions lost an average of 14 lb., and the self-trainers shed 10 lb., compared with 5 lb. lost by the control group.

Such low-resource techniques could become critical to fighting the rising toll of diabetes, which affects 8% of the U.S. population, says the study's lead author, Dr. Jun Ma of the Palo Alto Medical Foundation Research Institute. "We know there are huge numbers of patients out there who need intervention. We just don't have the manpower and resources to deliver them." The findings should help simple tools such as the DVDs and online resources become more widespread and reach more patients before they reach the tipping point, when they fall ill for real. What's more, self-taught good habits can often be longer-lasting than those hammered into you by a well-meaning doctor.



Preventing Diabetes By the Numbers

25.8 MILLION

Number of people in the U.S. who have diabetes; an estimated 7 million remain undiagnosed and aren't being treated

79 MILLION

Number of people in the U.S. who have prediabetes, a precursor condition that puts them at the highest risk of developing the disease

7%

Ideal percentage of body weight that prediabetic patients in the new study aim to lose by changing their diet and exercising more

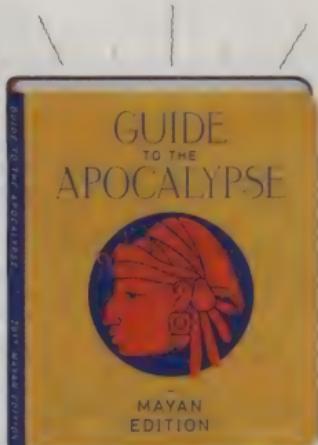
150

Minutes that prediabetic participants were asked to exercise each week

37%

Percentage of prediabetics who reached the 7% weight-loss target by changing their diet, compared with 14% of those who received standard care

Science



My, Oh Maya. The world's not ending—but can NASA persuade the terrified?

By Michael D. Lemonick

IF YOU WANT TO SEE A ROOMFUL OF PEOPLE ROLL THEIR EYES, just walk into a gathering of astronomers and shout, "Mayan apocalypse!" For years now, the idea that the earth will be destroyed in a terrible cataclysm on Dec. 21, 2012, has been bouncing around the Internet and showing up in articles, books and even movies. But despite what the tinfoil-hat crowd insists, an asteroid is not about to hit the earth. Neither is an imaginary planet called Nibiru. Our world isn't going to be abruptly flipped upside down like a burger on a griddle. What's more, Maya astrologers never said any of that stuff would actually happen.

Yes, the Maya had what's known as a Long Count calendar, and yes, that calendar ends on Dec. 21, 2012. But the nice thing about calendars, including the one the Maya used, is that they always start over again from zero. All the same, some folks at NASA are worried—not about the end of the world

but about the harm all the loose talk may be doing. "I get a tremendous number of e-mails about it," says David Morrison, a space scientist at the NASA Ames Research Center at Moffett Field in California. "A large fraction are from people asking if the world will end. A few even talk about suicide."

In an attempt to stop the hysteria, NASA convened a Google+ hangout on Nov. 28 during which people could ask astronomers anything

they wanted to about the rumors. For nearly an hour, the scientists soothed nerves, patiently explaining, for example, that an asteroid en route to earth would have been spotted by telescopes long ago and that Nibiru, if it existed, would now be the brightest object in the sky after the sun and moon.

"I'm told that about 10% of the public believes this stuff," says Seth Shostak, a scientist with the SETI Institute in Mountain View, Calif. "That's about the same percentage that believes in Santa Claus."

One problem, said astronomer Andrew Fraknoi of Foothill College in Los Altos, Calif., during the NASA webcast, "is that our schools have not taught skeptical thinking." Indeed, in 2010, Morrison met with a group of science teachers, and nearly every one of them said they knew kids who were worried about the Maya nonsense. When Dec. 21 comes and goes without incident, those fears should finally evaporate—that is, until the next doomsday pronouncement comes along.

Cosmic Nonsense

This isn't the first time NASA has had to set us straight



Faked moon landings
The granddaddy of rubbish. A perfect, 42-year conspiracy involving 400,000 space-program workers? It's easier to simply go to the moon



The face on Mars
It's just a windblown mound, really. Want proof? Decades after the Viking 1 spacecraft found it in 1976, other ships took another look. Poof, gone



The shuttle and the UFO
The footage looked good: flashes of light flying in formation, spotted by a 1991 shuttle. UFOs? No, ice crystals stirred up by thrusters



Mars approaches Earth
In 2005, the two planets moved into a comparatively close alignment. Mars will look as big as the moon! the Internet cried. Not quite

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top down
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about, can go with you anywhere you are.



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TIME

Milestones



DIED

Ravi Shankar. Sitar hero

In 1968, when the sitar virtuoso Ravi Shankar performed six shows in Manhattan, TIME's reviewer wrote that the sheen of celebrity from Shankar's association with the Beatles was starting to fade. In hindsight, that assessment is debatable; Shankar went on to perform at Woodstock and had a globally influential career. What was never in question was his gift for forging connections with music lovers around the world. "It is utter joy, uninhibited, that an artist experiences," Shankar told TIME, describing the transcendence of performing. "The raga, the musician, the listeners, all become one."

More than 40 years later, Shankar, who died on Dec. 11 at 92, is still a powerful and lasting influence in music. He granted international audiences access to a millennia-old Indian musical tradition. Through musicians like George Harrison and Philip Glass, whom he taught, and others, like John Coltrane, with whom he collaborated, he brought Eastern elements—both tonal and rhythmic—into Western music. Shankar leaves a living legacy in his two daughters, sitarist Anoushka Shankar and singer-songwriter Norah Jones. "Future generations will continue to listen...and be inspired," says his fellow musician Pandit Shivkumar Sharma. "Such musicians are not created merely through practice or dedication but somehow through a higher divine power." —KRISTA MAHR

DIED

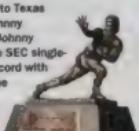
Charles Rosen, 85, pianist and scholar; he won the 1972 National Book Award for *The Classical Style*, an essential study of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven.

DIED

Saul Steinberg, 73, corporate raider who for more than three decades took over companies and got handsome greenmail payments from others to leave them alone.

AWARDED

The Heisman Trophy, to Texas A&M quarterback Johnny Manziel; nicknamed Johnny Football, he broke the SEC single-season total-yards record with 4,600 and became the first freshman to win the Heisman in its 77 years.



DIED

**Jenni Rivera
Queen of banda**

The Mexican-American singer, who died at 43 in a plane crash on Dec. 9, was the female voice of *banda* music, a brass-heavy genre of Mexican pop dominated by men. A Long Beach, Calif., native and reality-TV star, Rivera cemented her reputation as La Diva de la Banda when she won Female Artist of the Year and Banda Album of the Year at Billboard's 2012 Mexican Music Awards. Instead of letting personal troubles—including a history of domestic abuse and a recent divorce—bring her down, she wrote ballads about them to inspire other women. As she said at a press conference the night before she died, "The number of times I have fallen down is the number of times I have gotten up."

—OLIVIA B. WAXMAN



DIED

Sir Patrick Moore, 89, monocled British astronomer and presenter on the BBC's *The Sky at Night* from 1957 until his death—the longest unbroken run in TV history.

**RECORD BROKEN
Lionel Messi
Soccer phenom**

Messi's place in soccer's pantheon was secure long before Dec. 9, the day he notched his 86th goal of 2012. But by breaking the 40-year-old record for the most goals in a calendar year, the star of Argentina and FC Barcelona strengthened the case made by those—like this writer—who regard him as the sport's greatest player ever. At 25, he has already shattered scoring records against some of soccer's toughest competition, but sticklers will cavil that Messi can't be called the greatest ever until he wins the World Cup. His shot at that prize will come in 2014, when the tournament is played in Brazil. By then, we may have to invent new superlatives to describe the diminutive goal machine. —BOBBY GHOSH

DIED

Marty Reisman, 82, winner of 22 major U.S. and British table-tennis titles; nicknamed the Needle for his quick play, he was also known for his retro fashion style.

Fareed Zakaria



TO READ MORE BY
FAREED ZAKARIA GO TO
time.com/zakaria

The Baby Boom and Financial Doom

To rightsize spending, entitlement programs must be reformed

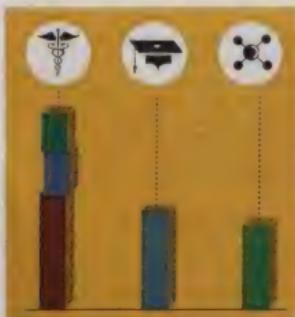
THE AMERICAN LEFT HAS TRAINED its sights on a new enemy: Pete Peterson. The banker and private-equity billionaire is, at first glance, an obvious target—rich and Republican. He stands accused of being the evil genius behind all the forces urging Washington to do something about the national debt. “The Peter G. Peterson Foundation is deficit-scold central,” writes columnist Paul Krugman.

But for a deficit scold, Peterson does not seem very concerned about today's budget. “The current deficit is not the problem,” he told me recently. “I wouldn't enact any measures to reduce it until the economy recovers properly.” In fact, he is even in favor of additional stimulus spending, “as long as it's well designed and paid for,” he notes. “My overriding concern has always been the long-term outlook, the massive structural deficits that we face as the baby boomers start retiring in large numbers. That's the problem we've simply refused to confront.”

The facts are hard to dispute. In 1900, 1 in 25 Americans was over the age of 65. In 2030, just 18 years from now, 1 in 5 Americans will be over 65. We will be a nation that looks like Florida. Because we have a large array of programs that provide guaranteed benefits to the elderly, this has huge budgetary implications. In 1960 there were about five working Americans for every retiree. By 2025, there will be just over two workers per retiree. In 1975 Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid made up 25% of federal spending. Today they add up to a whopping 40%. And within a decade, these programs will take up over half of all federal outlays.

Some argue that Peterson has been banging this drum for years—decades—and yet the grim reaper has not arrived.

But we have postponed the problem by borrowing heavily for three decades, and there is a limit to how long we can keep increasing debt, which now stands at 100% of GDP. The budgetary strains are already apparent. Federal spending on everything other than entitlements and defense has been steadily shrinking for decades. Cities and states are in a downward spiral. A recent report from the National Governors Association points



out that Medicaid is now the single largest item on state budgets and has grown by over 20% each of the past two years. As a result, spending on everything else is being slashed, from police and poverty programs to public education.

This trend will intensify. The Peter G. Peterson Foundation calculates—using Congressional Budget Office numbers—that by 2040 we are likely to spend 10% of GDP on interest payments alone (vs. 1.4% today). That's four times what we spend on education, infrastructure and scientific research. Since entitlements and defense spending have powerful interest-group support, what will wither is every-

thing else. The left must ask itself why it is tethered to a philosophy that insists that government's overwhelming responsibility is for pensions and health care even when, as an inevitable consequence, this starves other vital functions of the state. Is insurance for the elderly the only important function of government? Above education? Above scientific innovation? Above investments in infrastructure and energy? Above poverty alleviation? And yet that is where we are headed.

Peterson is the wrong target for liberals. Since the 1980s, he has spent most of his political energy attacking his fellow Republicans for their allergy to taxes. He came to prominence as a deficit hawk in 1982, when he wrote a long essay on Social Security for the *New York Review of Books*; he later wrote a cover story for the *Atlantic* in 1987. When Ronald Reagan was at the height of his popularity, Peterson ridiculed supply-side economics, knowing full well that this made him—a former Secretary of Commerce—toxic for any higher Republican office.

“I want to strengthen the safety net for the poor. But to do so, we have to reform entitlements, because they are simply not sustainable in their current form,” Peterson says. “The elderly population is doubling, and health care costs are rising rapidly.” His foundation is making the control of health care costs its No. 1 priority. “But we need to start making changes soon, because the longer we wait, the more painful will be the eventual changes,” he says.

In an important essay, “The Long Term Is Now,” William Galston, a former Clinton official, tries to face up to the budgetary crisis being produced by demographics. He proposes a rethinking of long-term care—which eats up a huge part of the budgets of Medicare and Medicaid—but in a way that doesn't unendingly eat up government revenue. That's the kind of innovation and reform the left should bring to the entitlement problem. Shooting the messenger doesn't help.

Very high triglycerides is a medical term for something serious:

TOO MUCH FAT IN YOUR BLOOD.

Ask your doctor about an FDA-approved medication made from omega-3 fish oil:
LOVAZA® (omega-3-acid ethyl esters)

If you have high cholesterol, diabetes or are overweight, you may also be at risk for very high triglycerides (≥ 500 mg/dL), which is a serious medical condition. LOVAZA is an FDA-approved medication for treating very high triglycerides that's made from omega-3 fish oil. LOVAZA, along with diet, has been clinically proven to lower very high triglycerides in adults. Individual results may vary. It is not known if LOVAZA prevents you from having a heart attack or stroke. LOVAZA is only available by prescription. You can't get it at a health food store. So if you think you might have very high triglycerides, talk to your doctor about getting your triglyceride levels tested and ask about LOVAZA.

LOVAZA is a prescription medicine used along with a low fat and low cholesterol diet to lower very high triglyceride (fat) levels in adults.

Take LOVAZA capsules whole.

Take LOVAZA exactly as your doctor tells you to take it.

IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION:

Do not take LOVAZA if you are allergic to omega-3-acid ethyl esters or any ingredient in LOVAZA.

Tell your doctor if you are allergic to fish or shellfish, or if you are pregnant, breastfeeding or plan to become pregnant or breastfeed as LOVAZA may not be right for you.

Talk to your doctor about any current medical conditions and any medications you are taking, especially those that may increase your risk of bleeding.

Take LOVAZA exactly as your doctor tells you to take it. You should not take more than 4 capsules of LOVAZA each day.

Your healthcare provider should do blood tests to check your triglyceride, bad cholesterol and liver function levels while you take LOVAZA.

LOVAZA may cause serious side effects including increases in:

- results of blood tests to check your liver function (ALT and AST) and your bad cholesterol levels (LDL-C)
- frequency of a heart rhythm problem (atrial fibrillation or flutter) that may especially happen in the first few months of taking LOVAZA if you already have that problem.

The most common side effects include burping, upset stomach, and change in sense of taste.

How supplied: 1-gram capsule



LOVAZA
omega 3 acid ethyl esters

For more information, visit LOVAZA.com or call 1-877-LOVAZA

Please see important Patient Information on the next page.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

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1-844-GSK-Help 855-875-3678

PATIENT INFORMATION
LOVAZA® (lö-vä-zä)
(omega-3-acid ethyl
esters) Capsules



Read this Patient Information before you start taking LOVAZA, and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This information does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your medical condition or your treatment.

What is LOVAZA?

LOVAZA is a prescription medicine used along with a low fat and low cholesterol diet to lower very high triglyceride (fat) levels in adults.

It is not known if LOVAZA prevents you from having a heart attack or stroke.

It is not known if LOVAZA is safe and effective in children.

Who should not take LOVAZA?

Do not take LOVAZA if you are allergic to omega-3-acid ethyl esters or any of the ingredients in LOVAZA. See the end of this leaflet for a complete list of ingredients in LOVAZA.

What should I tell my doctor before taking LOVAZA?

Before you take LOVAZA, tell your doctor if you:

- have diabetes.
- have a low thyroid problem (hypothyroidism).
- have a liver problem.
- have a pancreas problem.
- have a certain heart rhythm problem called atrial fibrillation or flutter.
- are allergic to fish or shellfish. It is not known if people who are allergic to fish or shellfish are also allergic to LOVAZA.
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. It is not known if LOVAZA will harm your unborn baby.
- are breastfeeding or plan to breastfeed. It is not known if LOVAZA passes into your breast milk. You and your doctor should decide if you will take LOVAZA or breastfeed.

Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take, including prescription and non-prescription medicine, vitamins, and herbal supplements.

LOVAZA can interact with certain other medicines that you are taking. Using LOVAZA with medicines that affect blood clotting (anticoagulants or blood thinners) may cause serious side effects.

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of them to show your doctor and pharmacist when you get a new medicine.

How should I take LOVAZA?

- Take LOVAZA exactly as your doctor tells you to take it.
- You should not take more than 4 capsules of LOVAZA each day. Either take all 4 capsules at one time, or 2 capsules two times a day.
- Do not change your dose or stop LOVAZA without talking to your doctor.
- Take LOVAZA with or without food.
- Take LOVAZA capsules whole. Do not break, crush, dissolve, or chew LOVAZA capsules before swallowing. If you cannot swallow LOVAZA capsules whole, tell your doctor. You may need a different medicine.
- Your doctor should start you on a low fat and low cholesterol diet before giving you LOVAZA. Stay on a low fat and low cholesterol diet while you take LOVAZA.

• Your doctor should do blood tests to check your triglyceride, bad cholesterol and liver function levels while you take LOVAZA.

What are the possible side effects of LOVAZA?

LOVAZA may cause serious side effects, including:

- Increases in the results of blood tests used to check your liver function (ALT and AST) and your bad cholesterol levels (LDL-C) cholesterol.
- Increases in the frequency of a heart rhythm problem (atrial fibrillation or flutter) may especially happen in the first few months of taking LOVAZA if you already have that problem.

The most common side effects of LOVAZA include:

- burping
- upset stomach
- a change in your sense of taste

Talk to your doctor if you have a side effect that bothers you or does not go away.

These are not all the possible side effects of LOVAZA. For more information, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

How should I store LOVAZA?

- Store LOVAZA at room temperature between 68°F to 77°F (20°C to 25°C).
- Do not freeze LOVAZA.
- Safely throw away medicine that is out of date or no longer needed.
- **Keep LOVAZA and all medicines out of the reach of children.**

General information about the safe and effective use of LOVAZA

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in a Patient Information leaflet. Do not use LOVAZA for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give LOVAZA to other people, even if they have the same symptoms you have. It may harm them.

This Patient Information Leaflet summarizes the most important information about LOVAZA. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about LOVAZA that is written for health professionals.

For more information go to www.LOVAZA.com or call 1-888-825-5249.

What are the ingredients in LOVAZA?

Active Ingredient: omega-3-acid ethyl esters, mostly EPA and DHA

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GlaxoSmithKline

Research Triangle Park, NC 27709

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August 2012

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WORLD

BIG BROT



HERS

The Muslim Brotherhood spent years angling for power. Now that its members have it, they're not sure what to do with it

BY KARL VICK/CAIRO



On the Muslim Brotherhood's side
Egyptian soldiers erect a banner
to protest President Morsi's official
endorsement of secularist protests.

Photograph by Alessio Romenzi for TIME

FOR MOST OF A CENTURY, IT WAS ONE OF THE GREAT QUESTIONS OF WORLD POLITICS:

What would the Muslim Brotherhood do if, by some extraordinary chain of circumstances, it came to power in Egypt? The shadowy organization essentially created modern political Islam, advocating a non-violent return to Shari'a while spinning off militant groups like Hamas and Egyptian Islamic Jihad, the terrorist band Ayman al-Zawahiri brought into al-Qaeda. Outlawed for decades, always kept on a tight leash by the authoritarians who controlled the Middle East, the Brothers endured as the gravitational center of Muslim politics, absorbing the ambitions of generations of devoutly idealistic Arab youth and the dire apprehensions of the West.

Finally, in the last days of 2012, the answer emerged: the Brotherhood, having gained power after an extraordinary chain of events, would rule Egypt with the same maddening ambiguity that defined its decades underground. Having won the presidency with a narrow majority, the Ikhwan—as it is called in Arabic—has split Egypt nearly as evenly as the Nile, dividing its population once more over the question of just what the Brothers really want.

"They want total control," says Ahmed Mohammed, who six months ago voted to elect Mohamed Morsi President and now stands in the street outside the palace, demanding that the Brotherhood's man step down. What turned the body-shop repairman around were the events of the past three weeks. It started when Morsi issued a Nov. 22 decree placing himself above Egypt's judiciary, ostensibly to ensure that the committee writing a new constitution had time to finish its work. "I say two months," Morsi told TIME on Nov. 28. The next day, the committee went into a sprint, polishing off its work in just 19 hours.

Protesters, who already filled Tahrir

Square in numbers not seen since the fall of Hosni Mubarak, then shifted to the presidential palace, where they clashed with Brotherhood operatives. The melee ended with 10 dead and tanks outside palace walls that by then doubled as a graffiti gallery (images of sheep beside DOWN WITH RELIGIOUS FASCISM). Morsi responded with name-calling of his own, dubbing the protesters "a fifth column" for Mubarak holdovers. He followed up with a flurry of contradictory edicts: lifting one decree, imposing another and finally bestowing the power to arrest on the Egyptian military, which had warned that the country was careering toward "catastrophic consequences"—language widely understood to mean civil war.

"We're obviously not very good at building consensus," says Gehad el-Haddad, a senior Brotherhood official, smiling at the understatement. He sits in a simple office lit by both fluorescent overheads and the sparkle in his eyes, which dance with the alert intelligence required to cast events in a benign light. The thing to understand, el-Haddad insists, is that the Brotherhood is not duplicitous but rather dazed and confused. Picture a creature new to the above-ground world, only recently emerged from decades in the shadows and still blinking at the bright light of day.

"You have to understand the construct of what affects their decisionmaking," he says. "The Brotherhood is an introvert organization that was underground for about 30 years. The fact of the matter is, it's not going to switch quickly to being an extrovert, transparent organization. It's going to take its time."

The rate of adjustment—if indeed that's the problem—carries implications. The referendum on Egypt's new constitution is scheduled to conclude on Dec. 15.



And parliamentary elections can't even begin until a constitution is in place. The Brotherhood dominated the last parliament, which was disbanded on a technicality by the Supreme Court. With new parliamentary elections coming in 2013, Brotherhood officials acknowledge that the organization's brand has been badly damaged by recent events. Given the group's dubious historical reputation, the taint may also damage the prospects for its chapters across the Middle East, including in Syria. As in Egypt, each chapter entered the Arab Spring with an organizational head start over other groups competing for power. But the stakes are highest in Egypt. Besides being the most populous Arab nation, Egypt has always been Brotherhood headquarters, the seat of power both in the past and in the ideal future the group was created to bring about.



All for a constitution? Morsi supporters shout slogans at the funeral of a compatriot who died during clashes outside the presidential palace

Origins of the Brotherhood

"THEY WANT TO FORM THE CALIPHATE state," Mohammed says, wincing. "They wanted it 80 years ago."

That certainly was the original plan. The Brotherhood was founded by Hassan al-Banna in 1928, four years after Turkey's new secular leader, Kemal Ataturk, did away with the Caliph, the office that had held ultimate authority over Muslims since the death of the Prophet Muhammad. The charismatic al-Banna argued persuasively that the Caliph was needed to enforce the dominion of a faith that's as much a way of life as it is a religion, with the Koran and the sayings of Muhammad prescribing everything from business practices to who should pass through a door first. "The way he spoke allowed you to see the whole sky through a keyhole," wrote one of al-Banna's many converts. His "mastery over his fol-

lowers was complete and inclusive," said another, "almost approaching sorcery."

Yet al-Banna was very much of this world, preaching political pragmatism and changing clothes—for some meetings a suit, for others a *galabiya*, sometimes a fez—depending on the occasion. In the 20th century Middle East, however, politics also meant violence: al-Banna was assassinated in 1949, and in the following decades the Brotherhood often nurtured radicalism and violence, especially under the influence of Sayyid Qutb, whose writings still inspire jihadis. The organization never again saw the likes of al-Banna, though. By the time Tunisia's revolt ignited the Arab Spring, his creation had evolved, during three decades under Egyptian强man Mubarak, into an organization designed more for survival than for inspiration.

"It was decentralized by design so it

could withstand security blows from the regime, whether horizontal or vertical, within the organization itself," el-Haddad explains. "The Brotherhood would continue to function financially, independently, organizationally, as if nothing has happened. At times 2,000 members had specific leadership positions."

The result, according to critics, was not only a siege mentality but also a creeping mediocrity, a sensibility betrayed by the group's blaming the mixed messages of Morsi's first five months on insufficient attention to public relations. "That is what you expect to get from customer service at Vodafone," says former Brotherhood

member Ibrahim el-Hodeiby. "You don't have a marketing problem. You have a real problem in your policies and what you're trying to push forward. Identity politics doesn't work anymore when you're in power. You need policies."

El-Hodeiby, 29, is among the devoted Islamists who regard the modern Brotherhood as intellectually exhausted, its pragmatism devoted to worldly ambition. The critics' disappointment may give comfort to those alarmed at the recent call for the elimination of Israel by the group's supreme guide, Mohammad Badie. These critics call that empty rhetoric, noting that operational power in the organization resides with deputy president Khairat al-Shater, a millionaire businessman who was the Brotherhood candidate for President until he was disqualified by an Egyptian court. His replacement, Morsi, has accepted Egypt's 1979 treaty with the Jewish state along with the other realities of running a nation-state.

Critics say innovative approaches to questions of governance and Islam may be more likely to come from elsewhere. Now that public discourse is no longer monitored by secret police, an assortment of Islamist politicians who once gathered under the Brotherhood's umbrella have started alternatives like Strong Egypt, headed by Abdel Moneim Aboul Fotouh, a former senior Brother. "People say they're afraid the Brotherhood will try to apply Shari'a," says el-Hodeiby. "*I'm actually afraid because they'll probably never apply Shari'a.*"

Politically, it would be an uphill fight. Egypt may be conservative and patriarchal, but it isn't simple. Barely three miles (5 km) from the presidential palace, the sacred and the profane coexist with no evident dissonance in a luxury mall where loudspeakers carry the noon call to prayer past a Cinnabon, a Pinkberry and a store window displaying boxer shorts that read **NIBBLE MY NUTS**. Morsi himself lives in New Cairo, an exurb that resembles neither the grubby cement cityscape around Tahrir nor the conservative Nile Delta where he grew up but the sterile planned communities of the prosperous Gulf. If the constitution passes, it may be less on its merits than on an appetite to get on with things. The revolution was two years ago, and Egypt's economy has staggered since.

"I want this to be over," says Wissam Ibrahim, 22, who lost his job at a travel agency shortly after Mubarak fell and was in Tahrir Square the other day just to see the place. "I don't think it's too much to ask for life to go on. Egypt is centrist. My interest is stability, security."

The draft charter is a lot like the Brother-



A nation divided A wounded pro-government protester is carried away from a clash with Morsi opponents outside the presidential palace

hood. Most of it appears inoffensive enough, resembling in crucial parts the 1971 charter it would replace. Like that document, the constitution calls for laws based on the principles of Shar'i rather than for imposing Muslim law itself. It establishes checks and balances and limits the President to two terms. But as with the Brotherhood, there are aspects that inspire unease, language that might be exploited later by a group armed with its own agenda and the power to finally impose it. Human Rights Watch warns that the document is ambiguous on women's rights, allows military trials of civilians and offers no protection for religions beyond Islam, Christianity and Judaism.

The more dramatic development—largely overlooked—may well be who's supporting the document: Salafists, puritanical Islamists well to the Brotherhood's right. The fundamentalists, who idealize the 7th century world of the Prophet, entered the revolution firmly opposed to democracy in any form. But in order to have a voice in post-Mubarak Egypt, they formed parties and ran for office. A few months ago, they opposed the constitution because it failed to impose Shari'a. But when secular activists criticized the draft, they rallied around it. On Dec. 11, while the secular National Salvation Front mulled whether to further marginalize itself by boycotting the vote (in the end it didn't), the head of the Salafist Nour Party urged his followers to attend a mass street demonstration "to convince citizens to back the constitution and rebuild the state institutions." Mainstream politics does have a way of diluting radical currents.

The Two Egypts

"THE PRESIDENT OF EGYPT: BIG FAT LIAR," says Walid Sakr, 51, outside Morsi's palace, the new epicenter for confrontations

with those in power. The street, in the affluent neighborhood of Heliopolis, was a battleground on Dec. 9, when phalanxes of well-trained Brotherhood toughs were ordered in, chanting "Morsi!" and "Allahu akbar" in cadence. "We have to learn from them, unfortunately," says Sakr. "They are well organized, I must admit."

The original forum for opposition, Tahrir Square, where Islamists joined the secular youths who started the 2011 revolution, is now a no-go zone for the religious. Islamists have since gathered elsewhere: some assemble outside a pair of mosques within walking distance of the palace, where the chants include "Egypt will be Islamic" and "Screw liberals, seculars and the constitutional court."

Ragab Mohammad sells T-shirts at the edge of Tahrir Square. "The Brothers haven't been here for more than a month," he says. One of his shirt slogans reads: "The power of the people is stronger than the people in power." It's a message that applies to any functioning democracy, of course. The trick, Mohammad says, is getting Egypt's to actually function. "Morsi is better than Mubarak," the vendor says. "The problem is, he can't get anything done. I'm not with the Brothers. I'm not against the Brothers. I'm with God. We want the country to stabilize."

El-Haddad insists that's all the Brotherhood wants too. The problem, he says: "There's not enough trust." It may be the only point everyone agrees on. —WITH REPORTING BY ASHRAF KHALIL/CAIRO

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THE BEGINNING OF THE END
OF POT PROHIBITION
BY DAVID VON DREHLE



In Washington and
Colorado, adults 21 and
older may now legally
possess up to
an ounce of pot



Into the weeds A selection of medical strains at the Seattle shop Suzie Q's, left, where pot Christmas cookies, right, are also on the menu



THESE ARE HEADY DAYS IN parts of the American West. In November, the citizens of Washington and Colorado voted to legalize marijuana, and when the first of the new laws took effect on Dec. 6, happy tokers celebrated by lighting up beside Seattle's Space Needle. One group passed around a fat cigarette stuffed with Maui Wowie, which connoisseur Eric Widener, 26, partook of enthusiastically as a friend nearby praised the virtues of the "citrusy, very cerebral" strain. Although Washington's referendum did not countenance such public consumption, police were instructed not to write tickets. As doobies glowed in a purple Pacific Coast haze, a young couple visiting from Michigan breathed the odor and smiled knowingly. "We just decriminalized it in our city," says Joe Markham, 25, whose hometown of Grand Rapids decided last month to treat pot possession as a mere civil infraction punishable by a small fine. Thus sigh the winds of change.

A few days later, on Dec. 10, Colorado Governor John Hickenlooper, a popular brewpub owner before getting into Denver politics, put his signature on Amendment 64, passed last month by his citizens. "Voters were loud and clear on Election Day," said Hickenlooper, and he was not exaggerating. The margin of victory was more than a quarter of a million votes—larger than Barack Obama's victory margin over Mitt Romney in the swing state—thanks in part to a canny campaign that called for regulating (and taxing) marijuana just like alcohol. Amendment 64 proponent Mason Tvert exulted in the moment. "From this

day forward," he said, "adults in Colorado will no longer be punished for the simple use and possession of marijuana."

But after the initial buzz, a question lingered that would make excellent fodder for late-night dorm-room philosophizing over bong hits and Doritos. What difference does this make, really? I mean, like, haven't the pot dispensaries in Colorado, Washington and 16 other states been bustling for years, thanks to the widespread availability of what's generously known as "medical" marijuana? Accessing pot in Denver has been so easy that in August the city council voted to ban dope-touting billboards and bus benches. In Washington, lawmakers cracked down on doctors who were offering therapeutic marijuana to otherwise healthy patients complaining of headaches or anxiety.

The loopholes opened by medical-marijuana laws long ago scrambled the strange economics of dope. Supplies of the drug are now so abundant that the grass farmers of California's famed Emerald Triangle are being hammered by plummeting wholesale prices. Some cities, like Denver, have nearly as many dispensaries as upscale coffee shops. And everything you need to equip a home cannabis garden (other than seeds) can be purchased with one click on Amazon.

Never in the long history of the U.S.'s war on pot—the scary film *Reefer Madness*, to pick one gaudy data point, was released in 1936, before *The Wizard of Oz* and *Gone with the Wind*—has marijuana been so easy to obtain. Whether you prefer to smoke it, sip it, gobble it in a cookie or slather it on in ointment form, America's grass producers

have you covered. And never has the social stigma of marijuana use been milder. Twenty years ago, while running for President, Bill Clinton felt compelled to make a pretzel of himself rather than admit to youthful toking. Compare that with the national shrug and chuckle that greeted biographer David Maraniss's revelations this year that Barack Obama inhaled so lustily as part of his high school's "Choom Gang" that he felt inspired to thank his dealer in the pages of his senior yearbook.

In that context, legalization feels like the inevitable next step, and a small one at that. Proponents have been riding such a happy wave of progress that they have seemed almost eager to highlight the many limits that continue to apply. Buyers and consumers must be 21 or older. Like tobacco, dope can't be smoked in most public spaces. It is illegal to drive under the influence of marijuana. Colleges and universities in Washington and Colorado have no plans to allow the stuff on campus. There will be more restrictions, no doubt, as the states move to regulate the cultivation, distribution, sale and taxation of marijuana. As with alcohol, legalization will entail the licensing of producers, buffer zones for schools, strict product labeling—perhaps even limits on potency.

The very process of regulating a newly legal dope trade, however, has the potential to turn an incremental development into a very big deal. As far as Uncle Sam is concerned, marijuana is still against the law in Washington and Colorado, regardless of the local election results. "In enacting the Controlled Substances Act, Congress determined that marijuana is a Schedule 1 controlled substance," the



Accessorizing Blown-glass pot pipes at the Fremont Sunday Market in Seattle, left, and a pair of Suzie Q's cannabis earrings, right

Department of Justice noted in a statement issued by Jenny A. Durkan, the U.S. Attorney in Seattle. "Regardless of any changes in state law," she warned, "growing, selling or possessing any amount of marijuana remains illegal under federal law."

Hickenlooper has reached out at least twice to Attorney General Eric Holder asking for guidance. So far, he hasn't heard much in reply. In January the Colorado legislature will begin developing a framework of laws to regulate the marijuana business, and lawmakers would like to know if the feds intend to tear down what they build. "My sense is that it is unlikely the federal government is going to allow states one by one to unilaterally decriminalize marijuana," the governor said at a postelection press conference.

Holder's silence is evidence that the Obama Administration hasn't decided how to react—yet. While some in federal law enforcement are pushing for a hard line against local legalization—in the form of a lawsuit challenging the power of states to contradict federal law, for example—others prefer a more nuanced approach. One idea is to concentrate on the profiteers. The feds have dealt with medical marijuana by largely ignoring the buyers and users of small amounts while cracking down on large growers and distributors.

Hickenlooper has said he anticipates something similar as the Administration reacts to outright legalization. "Some people think there's going to be big shops" and large marijuana farms, he says. "It's hard for me to imagine that happening and having big pot shops if the federal government still views it as illegal," he adds.

So for the time being, getting legally

stoned in Washington and Colorado may remain a mom-and-pop affair, the ultimate in small business, with Uncle Sam blowing the whistle on anyone who seems to be getting rich or powerful from pot. That's one way to kick the can down the road, but the time won't be far off when the can is again underfoot. It must have seemed, once upon a time, that a few casinos in the Nevada desert were but an incremental step in a society rife with illegal gambling. But small changes have a way of spreading. Today, some form of gambling is legal in every state except Hawaii and Utah.

Pot is likely to follow the same pattern. When other states get a look at the tax revenue rolling in from legal sales of marijuana, they will hurry to grab a share. Citing statistics compiled by the Colorado Department of Revenue, Brian Vicente, a backer of the Colorado law, notes that medical marijuana generated nearly \$50 million in taxes and fees for the state in 2½ years. Broad legalization will push that number far higher, he predicts.

Consider: an excise tax similar to the one levied on booze could mean that 15% of every marijuana sale flows into state coffers. That's \$40 or more on every ounce of premium grass, at a time when governments are straining to meet their budgets. "We're also going to serve as a model to the rest of the country," Vicente says. "We're going to tax this product. We're getting it off the street corners and behind the counters, away from kids. We're going to see tremendous revenue and job creation. I think it's going to serve as a beacon of light for other states."

This, as much as shifting mores, may fuel public support for legalization far beyond the borders of Washington and Colorado. According to a Gallup poll, the number of Americans in favor of ending marijuana prohibition has doubled over the past 15 years, leaving the country (what else?) evenly divided. Still larger numbers say the federal government should keep its nose out of state-level decisions to legalize dope.

And so a small change in two Western states bids fair to be a milestone in the history of the country—and another lesson in the difficulties involved in keeping people from their vices. The signs of high times to come are unmistakable, as Vicente notes in victory. "Generally, I think Coloradans realize that marijuana prohibition is a spectacular failure. It failed on almost every front. It was incredibly costly and damaging to people's lives. It has not led to lower usage rates in 80 years of prohibition. I think people were ready for a change." —WITH REPORTING BY ELI SANDERS/SEATTLE AND ERIN SKARDA/DENVER

'We're going to tax this product. We're getting it off the street corners and behind the counters, away from kids.'

—BRIAN VICENTE, SUPPORTER OF COLORADO'S POT LEGALIZATION LAW

THE MONEY COP

Gary Gensler got his start on Wall Street. Now he's cleaning it up—and taking on the biggest banking scandal since the financial crisis

BY RANA FOROOHAR

FOUR YEARS ON FROM THE FINANCIAL crisis, new scandals still seem to break out every few months. HSBC, the big British bank, just agreed to a \$1.9 billion settlement over money laundering. That was followed by the arrests of several London traders, including one who had worked for Swiss giant UBS and Citigroup, on suspicion of interest-rate manipulation—and banks are bracing for more to come. A driving force behind this latest crackdown tied to LIBOR, the London interbank-loan rate that is critical to

global banking, is Gary Gensler, chairman of the U.S. Commodity Futures Trading Commission (CFTC), who since 2009 has become one of Wall Street's toughest cops. That's a long way to have traveled since his days in the Clinton Administration, when he was one of those who advocated loosening financial regulation in the first place.

For a man who strikes fear in the hearts of brazen bankers, Gensler is a pretty genial guy. The 55-year-old single father laughs easily, jokes frequently and tells self-deprecating stories about his role in making our financial system safer in between

tales of the perils and joys of raising three daughters (Anna, 22; Lee, 21; and Isabel, 16) on his own following the death of his wife of 20 years, Francesca, from cancer in 2006.

Today, Gensler is railing about soiled clothing. "Anna came back home from L.A. the other day, and she brings this duffel bag full of dirty clothes!" he says. "Can you believe it? I end up doing all her laundry." Lounging in a beautiful home filled with photos and paintings done by their mother, who was an artist, the girls roll their eyes and later retaliate by mocking Dad for his downtime pleasure, dancing:



Profile in courage

CFTC chairman
Gensler has made
many enemies in high
places pursuing
financial justice.

"You should see him get down—it's half swing, half breakdancing!" When I point out to Gensler—a former Goldman Sachs partner who employs almost no household help and lives much of the time not in D.C. but near where he grew up in Baltimore—that maybe he doesn't need to do his own laundry, he sighs and says, "I know, I know." Living outside the Beltway and being Mr. Mom are part of Gensler's effort to keep a healthy distance—geographically and existentially—from both Washington and Wall Street, where the dirty laundry is a lot nastier than anything his kids can throw at him.

As chairman of the CFTC, he stands watch over some of the most exotic—and risky—financial transactions. Since summer, Gensler has been a central figure in exposing the biggest banking scandal since the financial crisis: the LIBOR interest-rate-manipulation investigations. LIBOR, the London interbank offered rate, is an arcane term for a simple concept: the interest rate that a bank might charge another bank. It plays a huge role in lots of everyday loans,

since banks use it as a benchmark to set other rates. Adjustable-rate mortgages, many student loans and car payments are pegged to LIBOR. So are countless types of complex financial instruments, including 70% of the U.S. futures market. In all, LIBOR underlies some \$350 trillion worth of derivatives contracts and \$10 trillion in loans.

So the notion that someone has played games with LIBOR doesn't sit well with enforcers like Gensler, who think the very viability of the world financial system depends on transparency and a level playing field. From pro investors making giant bets to homeowners considering a refinance, practically everyone in the market relies on the assumption that the LIBOR benchmark reflects reality. "These rates are at the absolute core of our global financial system," he says. If they are falsely reported, "that goes to the integrity of markets and how much trust the public has in them."

It turns out that public trust was indeed misplaced. On June 27, after four years of investigation by the CFTC, Barclays became the first major bank to publicly admit that

it had been rigging the rates it submitted for LIBOR for years, paying \$450 million in fines as a result. Over a dozen other global banks are under investigation by the CFTC and other U.S. and European regulators for falsely reporting or manipulating LIBOR. A number of those banks have been setting aside massive reserves to deal with potential fines. UBS, which may end up paying even bigger penalties than Barclays, has socked away some \$610 million to deal with possible regulatory issues.

A Motive for Fraud

THE CLEANUP IS LARGE DUE TO GENSLER, who has been leading the charge to uncover LIBOR fraud since he took over the CFTC in 2009.

Seeing what sticks Gensler with daughters Isabel, Anna and Lee in the kitchen of their Baltimore home



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A year earlier, there had been hints that something was off with LIBOR, which is unusually vulnerable to manipulation since it's not based on actual lending transactions. Instead, it's calculated through guesstimates submitted by a panel of 20 global banks. In some ways, LIBOR is a measure of banks' trust in one another's solvency. After all, you will offer a better deal on a loan to a borrower you feel confident can easily repay you than to someone whose finances seem weaker.

In 2008, as the financial crisis was building, that trust was manifestly declining—yet LIBOR wasn't rising. In those dark days, banks had a powerful motive to report rates lower than the real ones: the first banks that admitted having to pay more to borrow from fellow institutions would be effectively advertising the worries about their stability—admitting that they, and perhaps the entire financial system, were vulnerable.

Authorities knew something was up. (In 2008, Mervyn King, governor of the Bank of England, joked that LIBOR "is in many ways the rate at which banks do not lend to each other.") Yet regulators—some of whom may have feared market panic if LIBOR was exposed as unreliable—didn't jump on the case.

Except for Gensler. Working alone at first and then with other U.S. and international agencies, the CFTC trolled through thousands of e-mails, coming up with damning evidence. "Dude, I owe you big time," reads one e-mail from a trader to a Barclays staffer involved in fixing rates. "I'm opening a bottle of Bollinger." The Champagne may not have cost consumers anything—indeed, to the extent that LIBOR was kept artificially low, it's possible that people with loans pegged to that rate saved some money. But the LIBOR fixing illuminated a culture in which bankers routinely commit fraud while regulators turn the other way.

A Born-Again Regulator

THE FACT THAT GENSLER DIDN'T IGNORE the LIBOR problems may in some ways be an atonement for the earlier role he played in the deregulation of financial markets. In the Clinton Administration he worked with Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin and later was an Under Secretary to Rubin's successor, Larry Summers, who passed the Commodity Futures Modernization Act. That law exempted credit-default swaps—those exotic securities that exploded our economy in 2008—from regulation.

"Knowing what we know now, those of us who served in the 1990s should have

Staying rooted in Baltimore and being Mr. Mom are part of Gensler's effort to keep a healthy distance from both Washington and Wall Street

done more [to protect] the derivatives markets," says Gensler. And unlike others on the team, he was brave enough to make a public mea culpa and also fight back when it seemed the Obama Administration wanted to return to the status quo. He wrote a letter to Congress in 2009 urging that new derivatives rules be strengthened; critics claimed that more regulation would raise the cost of capital and add red tape.

Even some opponents of Clinton-era deregulation offer praise for Gensler. "I think he's done an impressive job," says Joseph Stiglitz, former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. "He's someone who doesn't just say, 'Trading is good,' but who really thinks about the social value of finance."

As the son of a vending-machine small-business owner who grew up in a middle-class Jewish family, Gensler had early exposure to the real-world side of finance. His father would draft Gary and everyone else in the family to "go around to the bars of Baltimore with this nickel-counting machine" so he could make the weekly payroll.

Gensler turned out to be a math whiz and went on to earn both his undergraduate degree and his M.B.A. from the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School. (He was an undergrad alongside his twin Robert, now a fund manager.) After Wharton, Gensler began a successful 18-year career at Goldman Sachs, eventually working under Rubin, who was a partner running a trading desk and starting up the risk-arbitrage unit. While the two weren't personally tight ("It was always a business relationship," says Gensler, ever tactful), Rubin was a good judge of talent, eventually exploiting Gensler's quantitative thinking on trading as the firm's focus shifted further and further to that more profitable—and risky—area of business.

Rubin then brought Gensler into the Clinton Administration. (Gensler later

worked as an adviser to Hillary Clinton during her 2008 campaign.) But in 1998, Gensler's wife had a flare-up of cancer, which had plagued her since they met. By 2005 the family was taking their last vacation together, to London, with Francesca in a wheelchair. The next year, as she lay dying in hospice in a medication-induced haze, Gensler says, "I took her hand and talked about all the vacations we had taken together, and I was laughing and saying, 'Wasn't this great?' and 'Remember that?'" He pauses, his face softening, and then he smiles. "She opened one eye and gave me this wry little smile. That was her goodbye."

The family is still very tight-knit—and somewhat competitive. Gensler's book *The Great Mutual Fund Trap* took aim at his brother Rob's industry, which he felt was overcharging people. "It's like, Do you really need that much of a spread for the middleman? There are a lot of bad practices out there in finance."

When 2013 kicks off, Gensler can notch the end of another bad practice as an accomplishment. On Dec. 31, the U.S. will become the only nation to require domestic and international dealers of swaps who are conducting business in America to register with regulators. The new reporting rules might have allowed regulators to see that a company like AIG—which had to be bailed out with \$180 billion in taxpayer money—was taking risky bets in the derivatives markets. "Would that have prevented AIG from taking those bets?" asks Gensler. "Maybe not. But at least we would have known. You always feel safer on a lit street rather than a dark one."

Shining a light in the darkest corners of finance hasn't won Gensler many friends. "He's dealt with a lot of very uncooperative people," says Congressman Barney Frank. Among them: a Congress that has underfunded the CFTC (which has only 10% more staff than it did in the 1990s, when markets were much smaller) and banking-industry lobbying groups that are continually suing the agency. Indeed, some insiders speculate that if Gensler hadn't made so many enemies in finance in the past few years, he might be a contender for a bigger gig, like head of the SEC or Treasury. He shrugs at the idea. "It's a privilege to see this job through. These rules [we are enforcing] really can help shift advantage from Wall Street to the rest of the economy." In a country still rife with financial scandal, where people have come to believe that the system is rigged against the little guy, that's as important a job as any. ■

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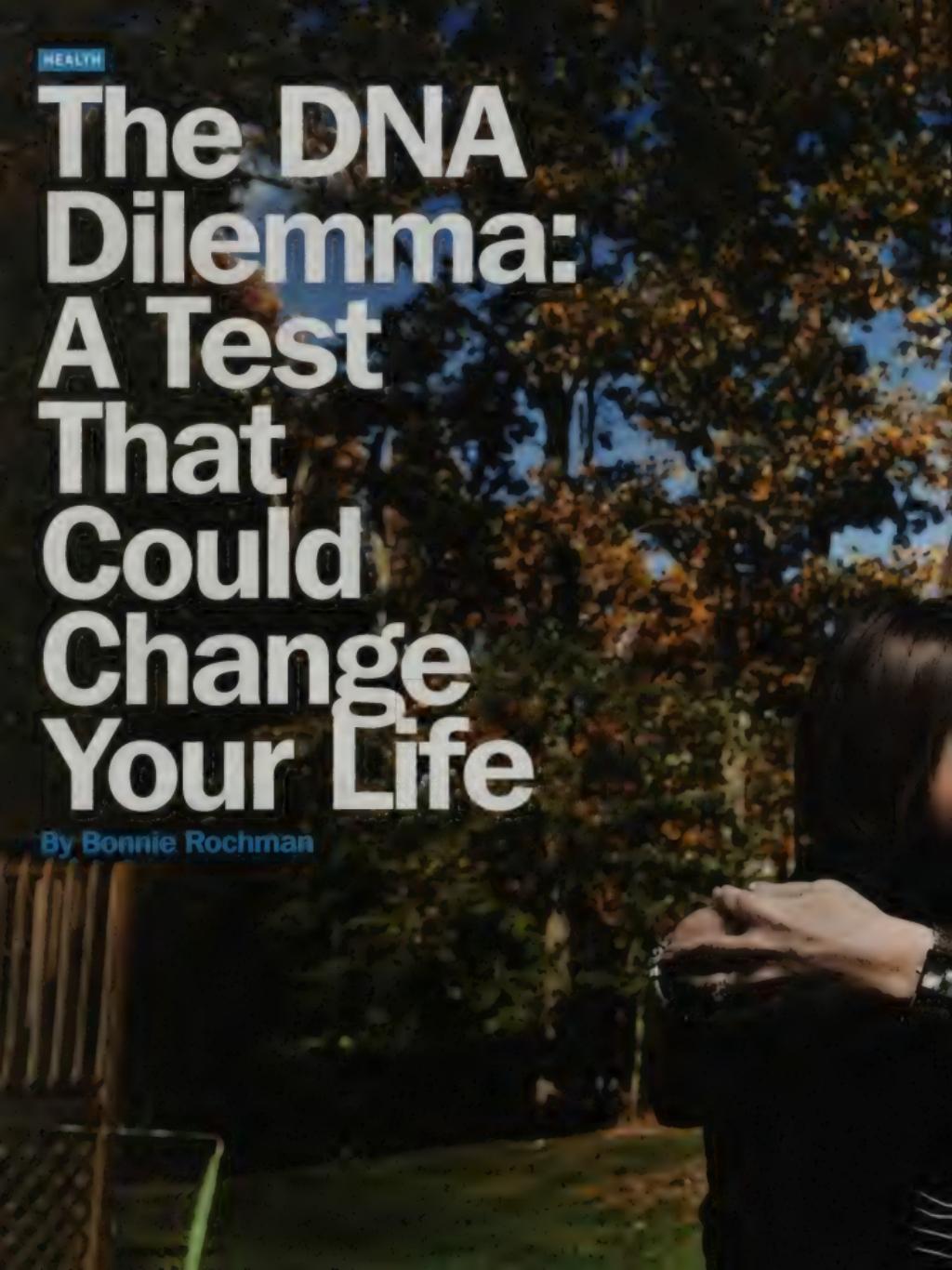
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HEALTH

The DNA Dilemma: A Test That Could Change Your Life

By Bonnie Rochman





Credit: AP/Laurie Hunter and her daughter in Jackson, N.J., found out they are missing seven genes—and at risk for cancer.

Photograph by
Miller Mobley for TIME

Know your enemy, we tell ourselves;

knowledge is power. Laurie Hunter wanted to know what disease was attacking her daughter Amanda, who by the age of 2 months was not developing normally. Her muscle tone was low. She wasn't lifting her head. She was slow to talk, and she didn't walk until she was 2.

"As a mother, you know that everything that happens to your child is not your fault, yet you still feel responsible," says Hunter, 42, a high school English teacher who lives in Jackson, N.J. "We turned to genetic testing because I wanted answers." The first tests, done at the Children's Hospital of Philadelphia (CHOP) when Amanda was 4, came back normal. So did another round when she was 9. Doctors could not figure out what was making Amanda weak—even as she got weaker and slower and stopped being able even to blow her nose. "It's like her muscles are getting tighter and not moving in the way they should," Hunter said. But the doctors held out hope. Genetic testing grows more sophisticated every day, they said, allowing researchers to explore a child's health down to every last typo on a chromosome.

In March, a third round of tests found seven genes missing from Amanda's first chromosome. At last, Hunter thought, when the genetic counselor called and asked to see her. "It felt like finally I might have an answer." But it was not the answer she was looking for. The small deletion, the counselor said, did not explain Amanda's condition. That was still a mystery. And now a whole new threat appeared.

One of the seven deletions has been linked to very rare tumors. The geneticists wanted Amanda, who is 14, to be screened by an oncologist. "It was like, Oh, my God, now we are adding cancer to the mix," Hunter says. "Never in a million years did I think this would be an issue."

She was even more surprised when a

counselor called after her own tests came back. "I know you're going to be upset," the counselor said, "but we found that you have the same deletion." And so might her other two children.

This is the world we are heading into: one with powerful new weapons against age-old diseases and a host of questions about how to use them wisely and not turn them on ourselves. Imperfect knowledge can make us crazy—or bankrupt—chasing down threats that may never materialize. The human genome is an exquisitely complex blueprint. Geneticists hunting for answers to mysterious symptoms invariably trip over incidental findings, genetic twists they were not even looking for that might signal a risk of cancer or Alzheimer's or Parkinson's in the near or distant future. But do doctors have to tell patients everything they learn, even about the risk of diseases for which there are not yet cures? Do parents have to tell their children what might await them as adults? And who will pay for all this? "Everyone at this point is flying by the seat of their pants," says Dr. James Evans, a medical geneticist at the University of North Carolina School of Medicine. "The technology is outpacing us."

From Labs to Living Rooms

THE MAPPING OF THE HUMAN GENOME, completed in 2003, cost \$2.7 billion. Now the cost for an individual's whole-genome sequencing (WGS) is \$7,500 and falling fast. One day WGS could be as easy to get as a pregnancy test at the drugstore. To do the testing, lab technicians need less than a teaspoon of blood, which is chemically treated to burst open the cells so the DNA inside them can be collected. Those microscopic strands are then fed into sophisticated machines that read each of the 3 billion bits of information, called base pairs, that



make up a person's genetic alphabet. Computers scan the data for the equivalent of spelling mistakes. Some mistakes cause disease; others don't. And in between is a vast gray area where scientists just don't know what the changes mean.

In an ideal world, genetic analysis could save money by catching diseases early, offering targeted treatments and identifying the most effective preventive measures. Dr. Katrina Armstrong, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine, notes that testing 21 genes could reveal which breast-cancer patients are unlikely to benefit from a particular chemotherapy—knowledge that could



Tough call Dr. Ian Krantz and Nancy Spinner at the Children's Hospital of Philadelphia decided not to tell parents their baby will likely develop early-onset dementia

Burke, a geneticist who chairs the department of bioethics and humanities at the University of Washington. "Instead, we could say, Here are the 1,000 mutations we should check in everyone." The American College of Medical Genetics and Genomics is already working on that, painstakingly assembling a list of a few dozen conditions that it says should be routinely looked for during genome sequencing. The hope is that focusing on certain hot spots—contenders include several syndromes that increase the risk of various cancers—will lead to improved analysis and, with it, better patient outcomes.

Some genetic testing has already moved out of the lab and into the living room. Companies like 23andMe offer DNA analysis directly to consumers—no doctor required. Since 23andMe's founding in 2006, more than 180,000 people have been tested as the price has fallen from \$999 for information on 14 specific traits and health risks to \$99 for more than 200. The promise boils down to "forewarned is forearmed." If parents learn that their child carries a gene called ApoE4, indicating a higher risk of Alzheimer's, they might discourage the child from playing youth hockey or football, since research has linked traumatic brain injuries with a greater likelihood of brain disease in people who test positive for ApoE4.

"I do believe at some point in time everyone will be genotyped at birth," says 23andMe co-founder and CEO Anne Wojcicki. Her husband, Google co-founder Sergey Brin, has a genetic mutation that increases the risk of Parkinson's disease up to 80%; she has already tested their two children. Wojcicki's grandmother had macular degeneration; when testing revealed that some of Wojcicki's nieces and nephews are at increased risk for it, she bought them high-quality sunglasses. If her kids were predisposed to developing diabetes, she says, she'd encourage healthier eating. "I want to do everything I can to potentially enable my children to be disease-free."

But having more-detailed genetic information does not always point to a clear path. Dr. Ian Krantz and Nancy Spinner, a husband-and-wife team at CHOP, are working with an \$8.8 million federal grant to understand what genomic

spare women the treatment and save \$400 million each year. "If genomics can help us understand who will get the most benefit and who will get little or no benefit from an intervention," Armstrong says, "it will take us a long way toward improving patient outcomes and saving money."

But a majority of doctors in a recent survey predicted that more testing will trigger higher costs, as patients with ambiguous results begin to seek frequent screenings—and potentially unnecessary procedures—for diseases they might never develop. "If we open the door to a test that has no clear, well-defined purpose, that is a recipe for unnecessary medical care," says Dr. Wylie

Nearly all the parents said they would want to know about every disease risk, even if there's no treatment available

information patients and parents want to know. Most parents go in looking for the cause of a mystery illness. "If you tell parents their child also has an increased risk for colon cancer or breast cancer," says Krantz, a pediatrician who oversees medical genetics training at CHOP, "that's a whole different level of stress."

If you want to start an argument, ask doctors and patients what they think doctors should do when they discover genetic results they weren't looking for. It can be an emotional blow—and a lifelong burden—if a mom learns that her baby girl carries a mutation that increases her risk of ovarian cancer or a dad finds out that his aspiring linebacker is genetically predisposed to developing Alzheimer's. In focus groups that are part of Krantz and Spinner's study, nearly all the parents said they would want to know about every disease risk, even if there's no treatment available. But in groups of bioethicists, lab directors, geneticists, pediatricians and genetic counselors, the majority said only results that could be immediately acted on should be shared with families.

This year, the lab Spinner runs tested a baby with a mysterious illness and found a completely unrelated mutation that indicated that dementia would likely set in at around age 40. Endless discussions followed: Should they tell the baby's parents that their child would probably develop a progressive neurologic disease marked by incontinence, blurred vision and confusion? There is no current treatment or cure. Telling them would all but guarantee that their child would never be able to get disability or long-term-care insurance. "We came around to the realization that we could not divulge that information," says Spinner, who is a genetics professor at Penn's medical school. "One of the basic principles of medicine is to do no harm."

At about the same time, her lab discovered that a 2-year-old with kidney disease carried a genetic risk for a kind of colon cancer. In some cases, polyps have been known to develop as early as age 7. With this patient, withholding the information would have seemed unethical. "We feel good about that one," says Spinner. "Proper screening can make a huge difference."

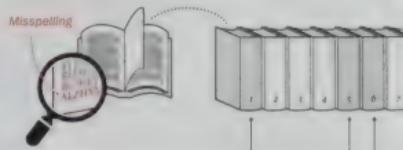
Genome sequencing isn't the first medical development that has forced doctors to grapple with the question of how much to tell patients. There have been cases of physicians' choosing to keep quiet when a test revealed a child's father was not his

Decoding Disease

Genetic testing can detect more than 2,500 medical conditions so far, some 500 of which are treatable. Scientists have the ability to search all 21,000 or so genes at once for mutations that could increase the risk of disease. The price for this is \$7,500 and falling fast.

INDIVIDUAL GENES

Think of human DNA as an encyclopedia. Testing a **specific gene** involves pulling out the right volume (chromosome) and looking for spelling errors on a particular page



CONNECTING THE DOTS

Some diseases are caused by a single mutation, while others involve a complex interplay among many genes and environmental factors

Early-onset Alzheimer's disease

Chromosomes 1, 14 and 21
Someone who inherits one of several mutations on chromosomes 1, 14 or 21 is almost certain to develop a rare form of Alzheimer's (accounting for less than 5% of cases) between the ages of 30 and 60

Colon cancer

Chromosome 5
Most cases of familial adenomatous polyposis, a rare form of colon cancer in which polyps have been detected in kids as young as 7, are caused by mutations in a tumor suppressor gene on chromosome 5

Diabetes

Chromosome 6
Mutations on chromosome 6 play a role in type 1 diabetes, but so do other factors, including early diet. If an identical twin has the condition, formerly called juvenile diabetes, the other twin has at most a 50% chance of developing it

or her biological father. In years past, doctors have agreed not to share news of a terminal illness with an elderly patient if the consensus was that the knowledge would cause too much anxiety.

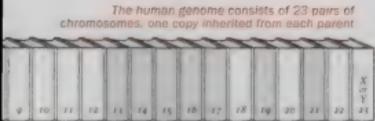
But genomes are vastly more complicated. "If you fall off your bike and get an X-ray looking for a fractured rib, the radiologist scans the entire X-ray and automatically reports back to your doctor if something else is going on," says Dr. Robert Green, a geneticist at Harvard Medical School. "More than a few cancers have been picked up this way. The problem with genomics is that everyone could have incidental findings."

Perhaps nowhere is the risk of over-reacting to murky results greater than in the field of prenatal testing. This year two groups of researchers announced that they had each sequenced a fetus' DNA from cells gathered from the mother's blood, leading to concerns that in the not-too-distant future, women might abort a pregnancy if they learn their unborn baby has an

increased risk for cancer. "Great, we can sequence the genome of a fetus. What the hell does it tell us?" says bioethicist Tom Murray, a visiting scholar at Yale. "Much less than most people probably believe. Probabilities are not the same as guarantees."

Faced with a growing need for protocols, the medical community is trying to hammer out some guidelines. This spring, the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists stated that though personalized gene profiles may be promising, they are "not ready for prime time" and should be discouraged. The American Academy of Pediatrics advises against genetic testing for children unless there is clear evidence of beneficial treatment or effective prevention strategies.

The challenge doctors face in determining how much to tell patients—or their parents—is complicated by a steady stream of new discoveries. Test results that are indecipherable today could be lifesaving in 2025. But waiting years to share sequencing



The human genome consists of 23 pairs of chromosomes, one copy inherited from each parent

GENOME SEQUENCING

Scanning a person's **entire genetic code** can help diagnose a mysterious illness, but murky results can lead to a lot of anxiety

Breast cancer Chromosomes 13 and 17

A woman who inherits mutations in either of two genes (BRCA 1 on chromosome 17 or BRCA 2 on chromosome 13) is about five times as likely to develop breast cancer as a woman who does not have such a mutation.

Autism Chromosomes 15 and 16

About 20% of autism cases can be traced to genetic abnormalities, including deletions or duplications on chromosomes 15 and 16. A new experimental blood test looking at 55 genes might help diagnose the condition earlier.

Obesity Chromosome 16

It's a mistake to attribute the obesity epidemic to DNA alone, but dozens of genes, including the fat mass and obesity-associated (FTO) gene on chromosome 16, appear to play a role in weight variation in adults

Alzheimer's disease Chromosome 19

A common variant of the ApoE gene on chromosome 19 increases a person's risk of getting late-onset Alzheimer's, which develops after age 60. Mutations in several other genes have also been linked to the disease

information is a logistical nightmare, particularly considering that patients may not remain under that geneticist's care and may change addresses many times over. Genomic transcripts are also so massive—labs typically FedEx a hard drive because there's too much data to transmit digitally—that the information is often relegated to a hospital's archives, if it's saved at all.

One possible solution to the problem of what to do with the deluge of data is a new Web-based venture called My46. Named for the number of chromosomes in human DNA, the nonprofit will allow people to store their sequencing results online and choose what they want to know and when. For example, parents of a baby who gets sequenced could opt to learn right away any findings about childhood diseases and put everything else—from unclear results to increased risks of adult-onset diseases—in the digital equivalent of a locked drawer, where it can be stored forever and accessed whenever they want to open it.

"Right now, it's not unusual for researchers to say that they're not returning results because there's no good way to do it," says Dr. Michael Bamshad, chief of pediatric genetics at the University of Washington, who works with Burke and is helping develop My46. Eventually, he predicts, "everyone will have their genome stored in a cloud."

Living with the Results

FOR LAURIE HUNTER, THE NEWS OF HER own cancer risk was not actually a shock. The disease runs in her family. Her mother and aunt had breast cancer, and her brother died of testicular cancer when he was 27. "I'd resigned myself that it was part of my reality, but I didn't think about it being part of my kids' reality—not this young, anyway," she says. One of the genes she's missing increases her risk of extra-adrenal tumors, which can pop up in the head, neck, chest and abdomen. The average age of onset is 30. Hunter is 42. So she scheduled blood tests and a full-body MRI to see if any tumors

had started growing. She was thinking not just of herself and Amanda but also of her son Ryan, 4, who has always been healthy, and of her youngest child Kailyn, who was born with a rare genetic disorder unrelated to Amanda's, called Wolf-Hirschhorn syndrome. At 2½, she cannot talk and can barely sit up. "I have two girls, one of whom will never speak, and they need to be cared for by somebody," she says. "I worry about, if something happens to me, who will take care of them." And then there is Ryan. What if she had passed the cancer risk on to him?

"I have shed more than a few tears since I learned about this gene deletion," Hunter says. "I love all my children equally, but I have reconciled myself that neither daughter will ever drive, go to college, get married or live on her own. The hardest part is thinking about my son. I have this one child in whom all my hopes and dreams lie, and now he may have this deletion too."

She considered not testing him. Maybe ignorance would be better than knowing the worst. "But I thought, God forbid, what if he was one of the ones who develops tumors at 10 years old and I didn't know. I'd be consumed with guilt."

Ryan was tested in the last week of September. The waiting was a kind of torment. "We got the results back the other day," Hunter says. "He does not have the deletion. I feel like I can breathe again."

But because of Amanda's increased risk, she is being closely monitored. An MRI found a spot on her neck that turned out to be an enlarged lymph node. The doctors still don't know what is causing her other health problems.

"If all three of my children were healthy and had no issues, I don't know if I'd want to know about those seven missing genes," says Hunter, whose own MRI detected a lesion above her diaphragm. She's waiting to learn whether it's a tumor. "Sometimes what you don't know is easier. I feel completely overwhelmed with information. Now it just feels like a waiting game."

This is often how medicine works. Our powers outpace our principles and protocols, so that we wake up one day to headlines that a sheep has been successfully cloned and have to figure out what that means for the future of reproduction. In the case of genetic testing, there is little doubt that greater knowledge will bring many blessings, but it comes with costs, literal and emotional, and patients entering this territory with imperfect maps need to reckon with the odds of getting lost.



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BUSINESS

Qatar is tiny and rich, and it's angling for influence. Is this the next Arab superpower?

BY ARTHUR BAKER / DOHA

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When a cease-fire was called on Nov. 21 between Israel and Hamas, which governs the Gaza Strip, residents of Gaza rushed to the streets in relief. They set off firecrackers and waved the flags of everyone they wanted to thank for helping end eight days of bloody conflict. Hamas' flag fluttered along with

those of Egypt and Turkey, countries that have long stood by Gazans' side. But a new banner joined the ranks: the maroon and white flag of Qatar.

Just a month before, Qatar's Emir Sheik Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani visited Gaza to deliver a \$400 million development package, becoming the first head of state to break, in the most public way possible, an Israeli blockade that had been in place since Hamas, an Islamist group, took control of Gaza in 2007. With that bold move in support of the world's most incendiary issue, Qatar placed itself squarely out front in a region that desires decisive leadership. The investment in Gaza earned the tiny emirate, better known for its outsized wealth than its strategic prowess, a place at a negotiating table that had long been reserved for bigger players.

As the balance of power shifts in the wake of the Arab Spring, Qatar, a nation of fewer than 2 million people, of whom only an estimated 250,000 are citizens, has muscled its way into a position of disproportionate importance. Punching above its geopolitical weight, this salt-scrubbed spit of land on the Persian Gulf has used political finesse and the judicious deployment of its vast oil and gas riches to engage early and consistently with the most difficult issues in its neighborhood. It was the first Arab nation to embrace Libya's anti-Gaddafi rebels; it then quickly threw its support to Syrians seeking the overthrow of former friend President Bashar Assad. The Emir's visit to Gaza was succeeded by an almost comic scramble among other regional nations to keep up with the Thani. Egypt sent its Prime Minister nearly a month after the Emir's visit, and Turkey's Prime Minister has pledged to go.

Qatar is a paradox: an absolute dictatorship blessed with unimaginable wealth that has positioned itself as the champion of democratic change everywhere but at home. It is a conservative Sunni monarchy

that has been ruled by one family since the mid-19th century, and yet it is spending billions of dollars buying assets and cultivating projects that might telegraph a savvy, sophisticated and forward-thinking image to the West. Qatar's leaders—a small, taciturn circle—have provided no explicit explanation for these moves, but analysts and Middle East experts say they all point in one direction. "Qatar wants to be the region's next superpower," says Fawaz Gerges, director of the Middle East Centre at the London School of Economics. "The Emir of Qatar knows well that there is a hunger for leadership, and he thinks Qatar should be that leader."

The World's Richest Nomads

A HALF CENTURY AGO, MOST QATARIS LIVED in poor coastal fishing and pearl harvesting villages or led precarious, nomadic lives

amid the interior's desert wastes. Then oil and gas revenue began pouring in. Qataris now rank among the world's richest people, with GDP per capita of more than \$98,000, twice as high as in the U.S. It has the world's third largest natural gas reserves, worth an estimated \$10 trillion, and has generated growth rates that put China and India to shame. In 2011, GDP surged by 14.1%, following a 16.7% jump in 2010.

Yet the Qataris know the boom that has made them rich also leaves them vulnerable. Hydrocarbons account for nearly 60% of Qatar's economy, but oil and gas "are not going to be there forever," says Fahad bin Mohammed al-Attiya, counsel to the emirate's heir apparent. Nobody knows exactly when the gas will run out, but to prepare for that eventuality and diversify its economy, the government is funneling billions into education, entrepreneurship and the arts.

Making news Al-Jazeera has become Qatar's most recognized calling card



Satellite news channel al-Jazeera is Qatar's best-known export. The de facto voice of the Arab street, al-Jazeera has earned Qatar legions of fans, including U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, who once compared the station favorably with U.S. broadcasters, saying it offered "real news." With an estimated 150 million viewers internationally (though it is still not widely available in the U.S.), "al-Jazeera is Qatar's passport to the world," says Qatari media consultant Hassan Rasheed.

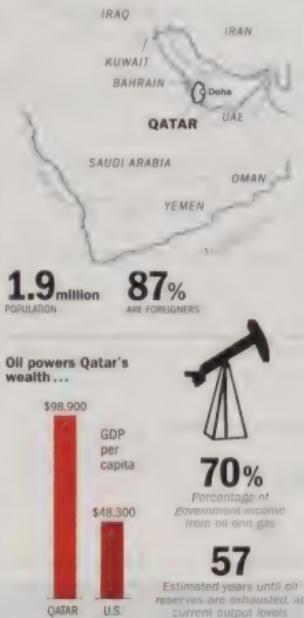
If al-Jazeera is Qatar's introduction to the world's newshounds, the nation's investments in culture, sports, education and blue-chip companies will bring it to the attention of everyone else. The 2,500-acre (1,000 hectare) Education City on the outskirts of the capital, Doha, houses the Middle East branches of eight top-ranked international universities, including Georgetown, Carnegie Mellon and Northwestern. Qatar also hosts branches of international think tanks such as the Brookings Institution and the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI). In theory these institutions, like al-Jazeera, are completely independent. Still, most employees hesitate to speak frankly on the record about their hosts for fear of inviting scrutiny. And with good cause: a Qatari poet was sentenced to life in prison last month for penning a verse about the Arab Spring that, officials say, insulted the Emir. Qatar has also been widely criticized by human-rights groups for abuses against migrant workers.

The Royal Women

QATAR IS UNUSUAL AMONG THE OIL-RICH states of the Gulf for the prominent public role played by its royal women. The Emir's glamorous second wife Sheikha Moza bint Nasser is often at the Emir's side during high-level political appearances, her hair tucked under a chic mini-turban rather than under an enveloping veil. She is the head of the Qatar Foundation, which has dispensed billions in charity and development projects dedicated to education. The Emir's daughter Sheikha al-Mayassa bint bin Khalifa al-Thani is one of the most powerful patrons in the art world. She oversees a clutch of museums that are home to the Gulf's best collection of Islamic art, including an I.M. Pei-designed building that floats, mirage-like, in Doha's harbor.

Qatar's Big Ambitions

Smaller than Connecticut, Qatar sits on 1.3% of the world's known oil reserves



and funds its effort to build a global profile



Sources: CIA World Factbook; International Organization for Migration; International Monetary Fund; OPEC

Sports, too, serve Qatar's strategic goals. The Qatar Foundation has sponsored the FC Barcelona soccer team since 2010. Two years ago, Qatar elbowed aside sporting heavyweights the U.S. and the U.K. for the right to host soccer's 2022 World Cup. "By 2022 pretty much every person on the planet is going to be aware of Qatar," says Salman Shaikh, director of the Brookings Doha Center's Middle East program. "So it really creates a sense that it is a power to be reckoned with in the region."

Meanwhile, Qatar's sovereign wealth fund, with an estimated \$100 billion in assets, has embarked on a worldwide shopping spree. It snapped up the U.K. department store Harrods for a reported \$2.2 billion, owns 95% of the Shard, a \$2.4 billion real estate development in London, and has bought the Paris Saint-Germain soccer team. It has stakes in iconic brands such as Volkswagen, Tiffany, Louis Vuitton and Credit Suisse. The Emir is also considering a deal to acquire the AC Milan soccer team from embattled former Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi for a reported \$650 million.

Qatar's investment strategy is designed to project an image that appeals to its Western allies. It doesn't always work. A recent Qatari proposal to invest \$65 million in Paris' marginalized—and Muslim-dominated—suburbs provoked a vitriolic outcry in the French press. (The far right's Marine Le Pen dubbed the initiative a "Trojan horse.") Qatar's successful bid for the World Cup—which will be played in a desert country in the summer—is regularly hit with accusations of bribery and foul play. Officials with Qatar's sports federation have denied any improprieties.

Why does Qatar seem to have such a Napoleon complex? One word: "Kuwait," says David Roberts, deputy director of the Doha branch of RUSI. "Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait demonstrated that anonymity is not a good thing. So if you can be known as that strangely powerful country striving—in a good way—on noble issues like education, regional peace and stability, that sounds like a good way to stand out."

The Flag Bearer

IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE ARAB SPRING, al-Jazeera made it very clear where its sympathies lay. Within a week of the Libyan

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High profile The Zig Zag Towers at the new West Bay Lagoon Plaza development in Qatar's capital, Doha

uprising, anchors on al-Jazeera delivered news updates on Libya against a backdrop of the country's pre-Gaddafi flag, which had been adopted as a standard of the rebellion. The network took a similar position in its coverage of the events in Syria, marking its preference with displays of the green, white and black emblem of the opposition. Those symbolic gestures opened Qatar to criticism. Why was al-Jazeera treading so lightly in its coverage of human-rights issues in Qatar? Or in neighboring Bahrain, where Qatari troops helped quash a popular revolt?

Those criticisms have died down, largely because of a growing perception in the region that Qatar's foreign policy is following al-Jazeera's reporting rather than the other way around. To back up the Emir's populist trip to Gaza, Prime Minister Jassim al-Thani took a strong stand at a recent conference in Cairo, pushing for Arab nations to work together to make progress in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. A cache of U.S. diplomatic cables released on the WikiLeaks website shows that the Prime Minister has long worked

NATION BUILDING

\$400

million. An amount of Qatar development aid directed to Gaza. This massive financial assistance, committed during a state visit, was part of Qatar's final big move play in the Middle East.

behind the scenes on an Israeli-Palestinian accord. Though Qatar's leadership denies taking sides, the Emir's visit to Gaza, controlled by Hamas, was widely interpreted as a snub of its political rival, Fatah, further marking Fatah's irrelevance within the Arab world.

A Subtle Strategy

GERGES OF THE MIDDLE EAST CENTRE SUGGESTS THAT QATAR, in rewarding Hamas, has been playing a much subtler strategy, one that could paradoxically help Western interests. Hamas, he notes, had long been supported financially and militarily by Iran and Syria, and Syria hosted Hamas' exiled chief Khaled Mashaal. But Hamas was sympathetic to the uprising in Syria, straining that alliance. Qatar invited Mashaal to move to Doha, neatly severing those vexing links to Syria. Hamas needs hundreds of millions of dollars a year to run Gaza. By stepping in with funding, Qatar not only rewarded Hamas for relocating Mashaal but may also have helped reduce the militant group's economic reliance on Iran. "Qatar



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Microsoft Dynamics



has managed to wean Hamas from Iran's orbit, steering it to a pro-West axis," says Gerges. "This is a major development, one that could even weaken Iran."

Despite these maneuvers, Qatar has not managed to change the U.S. position on Hamas, which the U.S. has designated a terrorist organization. Asked whether Qatar's influence has successfully weaned Hamas from Iran, a State Department official said, "No, Iran continues to back Hamas as well as to attempt to destabilize the region." Still, the U.S. and Qatar maintain a close alliance. Qatar is home to the largest U.S. military air base in the region, and the Emir visited the White House with the Sheika in April 2011 in part to discuss the Arab Spring.

Buying Influence?

QATAR'S INTERVENTIONS HAVE NOT ALWAYS been well received or well understood within the region it hopes to lead. Both Bahrain's King Hamad bin Isa al-Khalifa and Yemen's then President Ali Abdullah Saleh complained to U.S. officials about Qatari meddling in 2008 and 2009, according to leaked diplomatic cables from their countries' embassies. Al Jazeera's populist celebration of the anti-authoritarian uprisings in the region has infuriated Qatar's neighbors, particularly Saudi Arabia. Even Libyans, who benefited most from Qatar's assistance, are now suspicious of its intentions.

Syria's Assad, however, laid bare Qatar's true vulnerabilities in a scathing attack in an Egyptian magazine, dismissing Qatar as a parvenu. "Those who have suddenly become wealthy after a very long period of poverty ... They imagine they can use their wealth to buy geography, history and a regional role," he said. As a target of Qatar's pressure, Assad has an interest in trying to belittle the upstart emirate. But his comments also hint at a bigger picture: in the centers of power in the Arab world, as in Europe and the U.S., the nouveau riche will always struggle to be taken seriously by the old guard. And so far, Qatar's wealth has yet to purchase lasting diplomatic influence. The nation's most recent foray into regional affairs, a conference in Doha designed to unite the Syrian opposition, managed to force an ungainly



In position A bronze by French artist Louise Bourgeois at the national convention center

MONEY TALKS

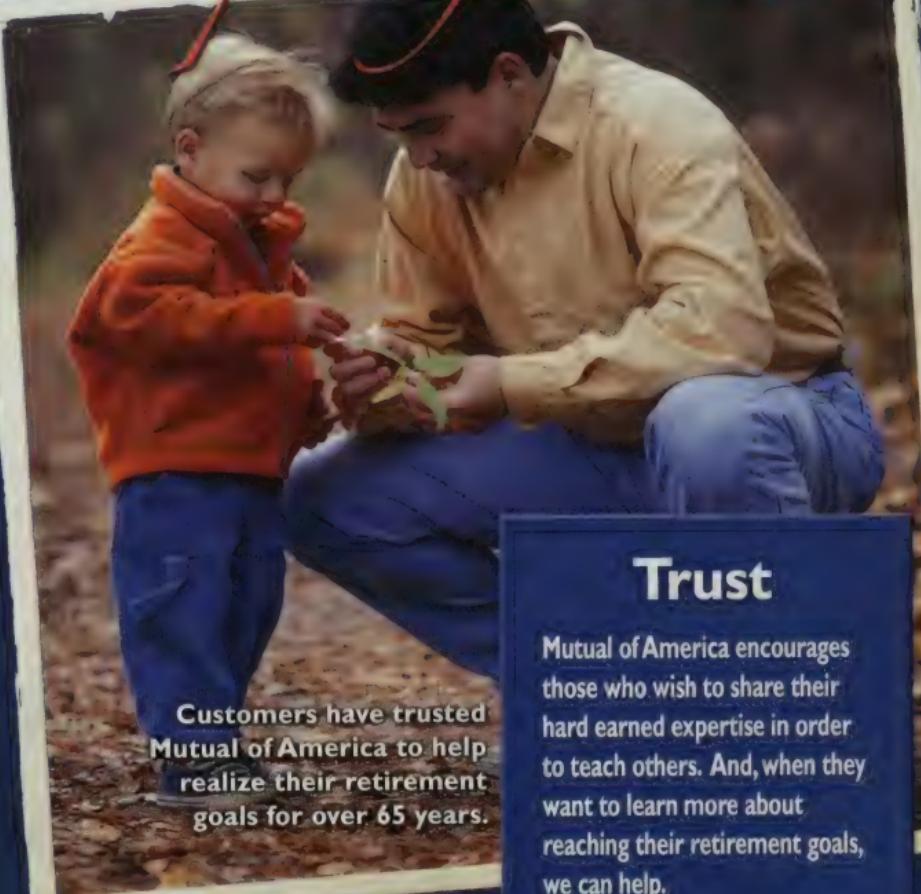
\$100

billion. Estimated size of Qatar's sovereign wealth fund. The emirate's leaders have used strategic investments in luxury brands and real estate to bolster its image and influence in the West.

alliance, but the success was short-lived.

These setbacks are to be expected for a country just starting to flex its diplomatic muscle. Qatar may have been the first country to break the Gaza blockade, but it will never have the same clout as Egypt, which shares a border as well as a long history with Gaza. And that is Qatar's biggest problem. It has the ambition, but it is simply too small, too young, its pool of leaders too shallow to effectively achieve its vision. Qatar certainly has the cash to make waves, but until it develops a new generation of forceful diplomats to go along with those reserves, it won't have the momentum to ride them all the way to shore. —WITH REPORTING BY JAY NEWTON-SMALL/WASHINGTON AND MICHAEL SCHUMAN/DOHA

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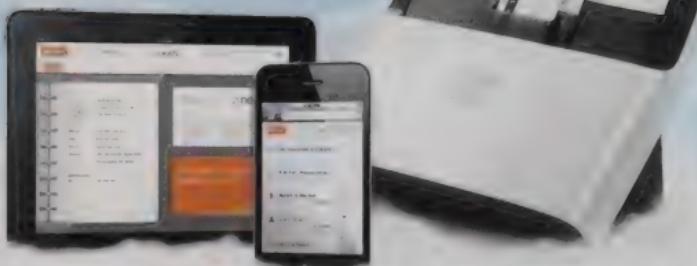
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TELEVISION

PAGE 50

Movies

BOOKS

TOP 100

THEATER

A collage of various celebrities and figures from 2012, including Lady Gaga, Jennifer Lawrence, and Bruce Willis, used as the background for the 'THE BEST OF 2012' title.

The Culture

Illustration by James Taylor for TIME

TELEVISION

1 | PARKS AND RECREATION (NBC)

In an election year, there is ample reason to feel depressed about politics and the people involved in it. So it was doubly welcome to have this full-hearted, brilliant civil-servant sitcom expanding its purview from the Pawnee, Ind., parks department to the city council and Washington itself. In the first half of 2012, it took Leslie Knope (Amy Poehler) through a bumpy but successful campaign against a local candy-company scion (Paul Rudd); in the second half, it sent her boyfriend and campaign manager, Ben Wyatt (Adam Scott), to the capital and found time to get the pair engaged. On two levels—political and personal—it was the year's best love story.

2 LOUIE (FX)

Louis CK's half-hour weekly movie can be just about anything—rawly funny or poignant, scatological or psychological, a collection of vignettes or a single three-episode story. Season 3 took the comedian and divorced dad on journeys of self-discovery: a lost weekend in Miami, a bizarre date, a quest to take over David Letterman's job, a surreal solo trip to China. This truly one-of-a-kind show was a 13-episode argument for engaging with the world.

3 HOMELAND (SHOWTIME)

In Season 1, America narrowly escaped a terrorist attack by ex-POW Nicholas Brody (Damian Lewis) at great personal cost to his CIA pursuer and lover, Carrie Mathison (Claire Danes). Carrie exposed Brody and turned him into a double agent in a surprise-filled, sometimes far-fetched Season 2, which combined an intense cloak-and-dagger story with a portrayal of the psychic toll the work takes on the people who do it.

4 BREAKING BAD (AMC)

In the first half of Season 5, teacher turned cancer patient turned meth dealer Walter White (Bryan Cranston) vanquished his enemies and cemented his business success—but the show also flashed forward

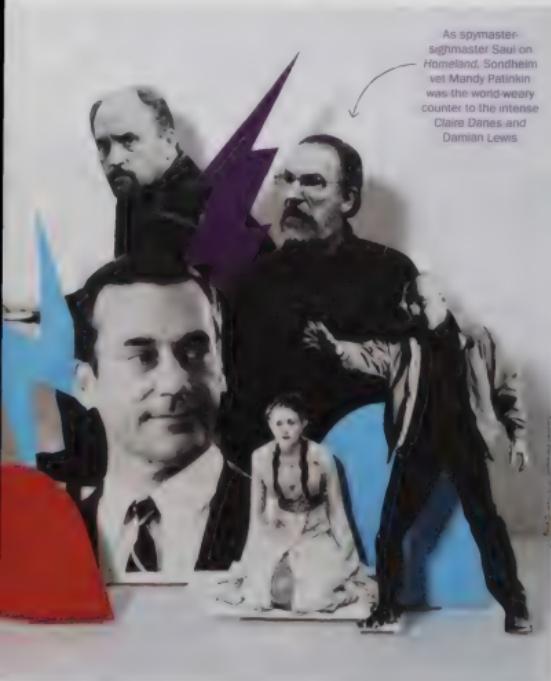
Besides making her HBO debut, Lena Dunham got a \$3.7 million book deal and appeared nude—eating cake while on a toilet seat!—on the Emmys telecast this year. (*Girls* returns for Season 2 in January)



to a haggard, ill-seeming White armed and on the run. Part I of an extended farewell season raised rather than answered the question of who put him there—his DEA agent brother-in-law (Dean Norris), his criminal enemies, his meth-cooking partner Jesse (Aaron Paul) or his ill-used wife Skyler (Anna Gunn). But it proved that a series could make a protagonist wholly despicable yet utterly fascinating.

5 MAD MEN (AMC)

If the purpose of art is to generate strong reactions, Season 5 of *Mad Men* was the most successful show on TV in 2012. Stylistically, it was visually and lyrically stunning, with one knockout set piece after another ("Zou Bisou Bisou," Roger Sterling's acid trip, Lane Pryce, er, hanging out at the office). Overall, the parts were greater than the whole, with daring



As spymaster-sighmaster Saul on *Homeland*, Sondheim vet Mandy Patinkin was the world-weary counter to the intense Claire Danes and Damian Lewis

TOP 5 EPISODES

"DADDY'S GIRLFRIEND," PARTS 1 AND 2

Louie (FX)

Parker Posey guest-stars as a joyous, unbalanced bookstore clerk who takes Louis (W) on a magical, disturbing New York all-nighter

"DIGITAL ESTATE PLANNING"

Community (NBC)

Only in broadcast TV's most inventive sitcom could a character... confront his dead racist father by entering a Nintendo-style virtual-reality video game

"BLACKWATER"

Game of Thrones (HBO)

The high-water (and high-flaming-water) mark of this fantasy saga pares down its usual sweep-across continents in focus on the squalor of the royal capital

"Q&A"

Homeland (Showtime)

If a psychological tense interrogation sequence, Brody's CIA pursuer and sometime lover, Carrie, tries off the war hero turned terrorist's protective layer like... but brutally and tenderly

"THE RETURN"

Girls (HBO)

Dunham teams with co-producer Jude Apiston to write a perceptive half-hour in which Hannah takes her baggage and her laundry on a visit to her parents

is the cause of—and solution to—all life's problems.

9 AMERICAN HORROR STORY: ASYLUM (FX)

Creators Ryan Murphy and Brad Falchuk demolished the haunted-house premise of *AHS* Season 1 and rebuilt bigger and crazier. Set in a Catholic home for the criminally insane in the 1960s, *Asylum* piles on horror tropes and themes like toppings on a novelty ice cream dish (a sundae bloody sundae): religion, Nazis, vivisection, serial killing, alien abductions. But its gothic lunacy is anchored by a top-shelf cast—James Cromwell and Jessica Lange especially. Consider me committed.

10 THE 2012 ELECTION (VARIOUS CHANNELS)

Like many a successful show, it may have dragged on too long, but this multibillion-dollar presidential election produced compelling TV. The debates genuinely—and repeatedly—changed the course of the race. (It's Gingrich! No, Romney! No, Santorum! No, Romney!) And amid all the sideshows (Chick-fil-A sandwich, anyone?), empty chairs and grandstanding, we had a serious dialogue on the role of government, women's rights, tax fairness and (thanks, Stephen Colbert!) campaign finance.

individual episodes that didn't add up to the same gut punch as did, say, the show's dissection of Don Draper in the previous season. But even a lesser *Mad Men* is still swinging, stylish, hauntingly great TV.

6 GIRLS (HBO)

Lena Dunham's comedy arrived on a tide of buzz and met a wave of backlash at the success of the 26-year-old creator-director-star. Clear that all away, though, and you had the year's freshest new comic voice: raunchy, raw and tender at once. Dunham's antiheroine Hannah Horvath wasn't always easy to love, but this Williamsburg bildungsroman found a heart beneath its overeducated characters' defenses.

7 GAME OF THRONES (HBO)

The fantasy epic based on George R.R. Martin's *A Song of*

Ice and Fire novels is wide in scope and long in the telling. Whereas the first season took a while to set the scene and draw the map for this saga—far-flung families battle for a throne while icy, undead doom threatens beyond a great wall—the second season hurtled forward on dragon's wings.

8 PARENTHOOD (NBC)

Seasons 3 and 4 of the tale of the Berkeley, Calif., Braverman clan challenged the characters with adoption, autism and cancer without making the show seem it was ratcheting up the stakes unrealistically for emotion. Like creator Jason Katims' previous bighearted tearjerker, *Friday Night Lights*, *Parenthood* is about how community can be both a burden and an irreplaceable support. In the Bravermans' world, to paraphrase *The Simpsons*, family

2012

MOVIES

1 AMOUR

Georges (Jean-Louis Trintignant) and Anne (Emmanuelle Riva) are wiry 80-somethings, retired music teachers who have been together for more than a half-century. When a series of strokes robs Anne of her powers of speech and movement, Georges cares for her with the desperate ardor of a teen attending to his first love. The Austrian auteur Michael Haneke is renowned for his formidable, forbidding parables of families beset by a malefic outside force. *Amour*, whose villain is the decay that awaits us all, stands as his most intimate, and positive, human drama. It is performed by two icons of French films since the 1950s, here at the peak of their art in a story of devotion pushed to the limit. The body may perish, but love—*amour*—never dies.

2 BEASTS OF THE SOUTHERN WILD

The soggy Louisiana delta area called the Bathtub is home to Hushpuppy (Quvenzhané Wallis) and her ailing daddy (Dwight Henry). Six years old and ageless, the girl converses with her farm pets and her lost mother, endures a hurricane and spends time with surrogate moms on a floating bordello. Benh Zeitlin's debut feature is a work of imagination as vast and verdant as *Hushpuppy*. It speaks in eloquent images and moves to the music of Wallis' astonishing performance. As the wise wild child, she is a tiny, irresistible force of nature.

3 LIFE OF PI

An Indian boy, his family killed in a shipwreck, must navigate a small boat across the Pacific Ocean with no company but a ravenous Bengal tiger. Both of these lost creatures endure a rite of passage in Ang Lee's visually spectacular, emotionally resonant film of the Yann Martel novel. Lee's poetic use of 3-D—conjuring a looking glass ocean, schools of flying fish and about a million meerkats—combines with the amazing key-frame technology that put an imaginary tiger in a real boat. *Avatar* plus *Rise of the Planet of the Apes* equals this entrancing feat of magical realism.

He plays an 8-year-old in *Bathtub*'s new, raw, and good-looking *Woman*.
1956: *Witt*, *Anna*
Louis Trintignant
1959: *Seniors* and *A Man*
most commanding man

4 ANNA KARENINA

All the world—the world of Russian aristocrats—is a stage in Joe Wright's brazen, exhilarating film of Tolstoy's novel about the lady, her lover, her husband and the train. Wright stages most of the action in a reproduction of a 19th century theater, while Sidi Larbi Cherkaoui's virtuosic choreography sets dozens of characters awhirl and agast at the reckless affair that Anna (Keira Knightley), wife of a respected judge (Jude Law), pursues with the dashing Vronsky (Aaron Taylor-Johnson). Keyed by Knightley's fearless performance, this is tragedy played as comic opera soaring into grand opera, a triumph of art and artifice over the grubby banalities of film naturalism.



5 THE DARK KNIGHT RISES
PG-13, 140 min., \$17.99

Bruce Wayne (Christian Bale) and an idealistic cop (Joseph Gordon-Levitt) must save Gotham from a blight named Bane (Tom Hardy) with help or intrusion from a lovely philanthropist (Marion Cotillard) and the revived Catwoman (Anne Hathaway). All five are orphans in masks; they repress or express their true natures by playing roles. Christopher Nolan's stupendous climax to his Batman trilogy is a masquerade too. Nolan is pretending to be a director of comic-book entertainment when he's really out to excoriate Americans' greed, laziness and implicit yearning for an omnipotent father figure who is as likely to be a villain as a savior—less Batman than Bane.

TOP 5
PERFORMANCES

JEAN-LOUIS
TRINTIGNANT AND
EMMANUELLE RIVA

Amour
Stars of French films since the 1950s, Trintignant and Riva had never appeared together in a full feature before, but they make the old couple seem like eternal soul mates.

3
QUVENZHANE
WALLIS

Beasts of the Southern Wild
Just 5 when she was cast as Hushpuppy, this prodigy lives palpably through each of the moods, fears and visions of her heroine.

6 [Privacy Policy](#)

In the war on terrorism, the front line is everywhere, from Afghanistan to Manhattan. And among the U.S.'s most valuable soldier tacticians are CIA trackers like Maya (Jessica Chastain), the heroine of this powerhouse docudrama from Kathryn Bigelow and Mark Boal, the director and the writer of *The Hurt Locker*. That Oscar winner showed the war in microcosm: a small unit of bomb defusers in Iraq. This is the macrocosm, covering eight years in the search for Osama bin Laden and climaxing in a taut depiction of the SEAL Team 6 raid that killed him. Bigelow turns Boal's superb reporting of a complex campaign into a lucid, thrilling action movie for the brain.

7 DARK FIRST

Abe Wertheimer (Jordan Gelber) is an underachieving schlub. Fat and 35, he lives with his parents (Mia Farrow and Christopher Walken) and collects fantasy film posters and *Simpsons* action figures suitable for a 12-year-old. Yet a couple of women—a fellow depressive (Selma Blair) and his father's secretary (Donna Murphy)—love Abe the way a child may protectively cherish an injured gerbil. Or their devotion could exist only in Abe's daydreams, which appear frequently and furtively in Todd Solondz's sweetly, deeply neurotic love story. Solondz's odd gift is to stir sympathy for ordinary people capable of awful things, and this ugly-is-beautiful tale is his gentlest achievement.

8 DRAGON

When Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon, Ang Lee's update of the *wuxia* (swordplay) films of the late '60s, became a megahit, it triggered a revival of the martial arts genre, notably in Zhang Yimou's *Hero* and Tsui Hark's *Detective Dee and the Mystery of the Phantom Flame*. Peter Chan's *Dragon* (original title: *Wu Xia*) succeeds both as a tribute to the classic *One-Armed Swordsman* films, starring Jimmy Wang Yu, and as a stand-alone delight. The hidden dragon here is Donnie Yen as the quiet peasant who turns out to be the renegade son of the bandits' leader (a fine comeback role for Wang Yu). Yen also choreographed the nifty stunts in a drama that attains both gravity and buoyancy and balances familial tenderness with chest-caving kicks.

9 FRANKENWEENIE

If Victor Frankenstein, the monster-making scientist of Mary Shelley's 1818 novel, were a suburban American kid... well, he is, in Tim Burton's feature-length remake, in stop-motion animation, of his 1984 live-action short. Victor (voiced by Charlie Tahan) is a little too weird for his conventional parents (Martin Short and Catherine O'Hara) but a perfect mate for his pit bull terrier Sparky. When Sparky is killed in a car

CLARKE PETERS

Red Hook Summer
Enoch Rouse, pastor of a Brooklyn storefront church, gives sermons that are poems on fire. Peters infuses Spike Lee's complex character with a voice as potent and plangent as a James Cleveland solo.

RACHEL WEISZ

The Deep Blue Sea
Weisz brings a cauterizing fire to this Terence Davies film about a judge's wife whose passion for an ex-RAF wastrel outlasts his interest in her. Here, sexual ferocity ascends into saintly, forlorn purity.

MATTHEW MCCONAUGHEY

Killer Joe
After a decade of cliché rom-coms, the Texas charmer went indefinitely indie in five features, most notably this William Friedkin weirdie about a hit-man cop. He's one sick dude yet still smoothly seductive.

accident, Victor resolves to bring him back to life. The movie transforms what is for most children their first shock of mortality—the passing of a beloved pet—into a ghouly-cheery tale of precocious necrophilia and a puckish pocket history of classic monster films. This 3-D, black-and-white family comedy is the year's most inventive, endearing animated feature.

10 THE INVISIBLE WAR

Armed forces has a second, corrosive meaning when officers force themselves sexually on the women in their command. In Kirby Dick's almost unbearably powerful documentary about rape in the military, the brave women who testify onscreen argue that they were really violated twice: once by their assailants and a second time by the tough-boy network of commanders protecting this man's army. These women needed the scouring disinfectant of Dick's spotlight; it's one of the few movies that have done provable good. On April 14, three months after its premiere at the Sundance Film Festival (where it won the audience award), *The Invisible War* was shown to Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta. "Two days later," a title card informs us at the end, "he took the decision to prosecute away from commanders."

BEST OF
2012

COURTESY OF THE DIRECTOR; STYLING: KAREN MCKEE; HAIR AND MAKEUP: HEATHER HARRIS; PROPS: JENNIFER DIAZ



THEATER

1 | 4000 MILES

A hippieish college student, finishing up a cross-country bike trip, arrives in New York City to stay with his grandmother; they form a bond, and family secrets are revealed. In outline, Amy Herzog's play might seem like nothing special. But her humor, honesty and narrative subtlety make this a rarity: a family play that avoids sentimentality or sitcom shtick. Daniel Aukin's production, which had an all-too-brief run at Lincoln Center in the spring, could not be bettered, especially Mary Louise Wilson's poignant, unpatronizing portrayal of the cantankerous grandma.

2 | WHO'S AFRAID OF VIRGINIA WOOLF?

In this Chicago-born production, Tracy Letts and Amy Morton (playwright and lead actress, respectively, of *August: Osage County*) bring no big star airs or revisionism to Edward Albee's classic, just a superb grasp of the cruelty that desperate people can inflict on each other.

3 | FORBIDDEN BROADWAY: ALIVE & KICKING

In a bad year for new musicals, it was nice to see Gerard Alessandrini's satirical revue return after a three-year absence, turning Broadway's products back on their perpetrators, from Elena Roger's lackluster *Evita* ("Just a little lack of star qua-l-i-tee") to Matthew Broderick's bland Gershwin recycling *Nice Work if You Can Get It* ("S'Wonder Bread/S'mayonnaise").

4 | END OF THE RAINBOW

Judy Garland, at the tail end of a disintegrating career, tries to hold it together during a London nightclub gig. You know exactly where Peter Quilter's play is going, but Tracie Bennett's interpretation of Garland's drug-fueled breakdown is so intense and unnerving that it's impossible to look away.

5 | LOUIS CK ON TOUR

Louie's hangdog dyspepsia is leavened by a healthy sense of perspective and even something approaching optimism in this concert (now on a nationwide tour). As a stand-up performer, he is relatively subdued onstage, but his show is as carefully crafted and deeply felt as the best work of theater.

6 | GRACE

A naive evangelist from Minnesota (Paul Rudd) travels to Florida to start a chain of gospel motels. He encounters an emotionally and physically scarred next-door neighbor (Michael Shannon), a talkative exterminator (Ed Asner) and a lesson in the cruel shocks that a fallen world can inflict on the

faithful. Craig Wright's play (superbly directed on Broadway by Dexter Bullard) can be facile, but it casts a doomy spell.

7 | A CHRISTMAS STORY: THE MUSICAL

For kids of a certain age, the annual highlight of TV's holiday season wasn't *It's a Wonderful Life* but a cheesy flick about a kid who wants a BB gun for Christmas. Now it's a delightful Broadway musical, retaining the movie's tone of sardonic nostalgia and its catchphrases ("You'll shoot your eye out!") and embellishing them with a slew of sprightly songs.

8 | ONE MAN, TWO GUVNORS

James Corden—a manic, roly-poly, slyly engaging comic from Britain—nearly takes over the whole show in this reworking of the 18th century farce *The Servant of Two Masters*. As both narrator and protagonist of the daffy mistaken-identity plot (updated to 1960s Brighton), Tony winner Corden plays games with the audience, brings spectators onstage to serve as stooges and keeps us guessing as to what's real and what's a ruse.

9 | DETROIT

Two suburban couples meet over a backyard barbecue, and one pair begins the work of disrupting the world of neatly tended lawns and carefully nurtured lies. Lisa D'Amour's play, first staged at Chicago's Steppenwolf Theatre, keeps taking unexpected turns as it descends into a nightmarish parable of social disconnection.

10 | ANNIE

Broadway overdosed on revivals this season, but this is one I wouldn't want to give up. Lilla Crawford is the latest precocious stage tot to belt out "Tomorrow" and help FDR solve the banking crisis, but the real star is the Charles Strouse-Martin Charnin score, which is as easy to take in and as hard to shake off as when we first heard it.

BOOKS

FICTION

1 THE FAULT IN OUR STARS

John Green

Hazel and her boy friend Augustus are in love. They also have cancer, which means they have to face up to the prospect of death on a daily basis. While it's technically a young adult novel, this is one of the most genuine and moving love stories in recent American fiction, literary or otherwise, and an existential tragedy of towering intelligence, sadness and integrity.


2 BRING UP THE BODIES

Hilary Mantel

In the second book in her two-for-two Booker-winning series, Mantel deepens her portrait of master Tudor puppeteer Thomas Cromwell as he stages Anne Boleyn's downfall.

3 BILLY LYNN'S LONG HALFTIME WALK

E. L. Doctorow

After they're caught on film in a firefight in Iraq, Billy Lynn and his squadmates are invited to appear at a Dallas Cowboys game, where they're torn between their traumatic past and America's glitz, surreal present.

4 AT LAST Edward St. Aubyn

In the final volume of St. Aubyn's scathingly funny five-novel cycle, the scion of a wealthy and dissipated English family tries to make peace with his legacy.

**5 THE GIRL WHO FELL
BENEATH FAIRYLAND**
AND LED THE REVELS THERE

Catherynne M. Valente

September, a touchy, tender, clever and altogether real little girl, finds her way into Fairyland, a place that resonates with Narnia and Oz but is utterly its own.

6 THE CASUAL VACANCY

J. K. Rowling

With the same craftsmanship she used to build Hogwarts, Rowling brings readers the small English town of Pagford, which is locked in a struggle over a low-income housing project.

7 BUILDING STORIES

Chris Ware

In an eclectic collection of chapbooks, comic strips and more, graphic novelist Chris Ware depicts the obliquely intersecting lives of the

inhabitants of a Chicago apartment building.

8 NW Zadie Smith

Childhood friends grow up and apart in Smith's novel set in council estates in London's northwest district, where social mobility is both a goal and a trap.

9 WHERE'D YOU GO, BERNADETTE Maria Semple

A precocious 15-year-old girl must cope with the emotional cluelessness of her genius programmer father and the disappearance of her equally brilliant architect mother.

**10 THIS IS HOW YOU
LOSE HER** Junot Diaz

This collection mixes eloquent Dominican swagger with a 21st century pop-culture patois to tell stories about men and the women they both love and betray.

omen's decade
is book explores
identity, which
comes from groups
from parents



Cheryl Strayed is also
the author's columnist at
the *Rumpus*, where she
tells stories from her
own life in illuminated
essays. (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt)

NONFICTION

1 IRON CURTAIN

Anne Applebaum

Beginning in 1944, Stalin undertook the political and cultural subjugation of the vast territory the Soviet Union had rolled over during World War II. Applebaum records the brutality and meticulous detail with which this doomed project was carried out: the crushing of the Catholic Church, the demonization of intellectuals, the absolute control of the media and, worst and most insidious, the suborning of the population to spy on itself.

4 MY FRIEND DAHMER

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By pure, horrific chance, Backderf went to high school with Jeffrey Dahmer. Mining his memories, Backderf creates a shockingly recognizable, almost tragic portrait of the future serial killer as an alienated kid in a toxic family.

3 FAR FROM THE TREE

Andrew Solomon

A vast, ambitious book that explores the gulf between parents and children who are divided by dwarfism, schizophrenia, deafness and other slips of fate or genetics.

2 THE PASSAGE OF

POWER Robert A. Caro

The fourth volume of Caro's masterly, definitive life of Lyndon Baines Johnson covers Johnson's term as Vice President and his abrupt elevation to the presidency.

BEST OF
2012

BOOKS

J.K. Rowling's best post-Harry-Potter book is the year's No. 2 adult best-seller in hardcover, behind Gillian Flynn's *Gone Girl*.

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10 THE BLACK COUNT

Tom Reiss

Alexandre Dumas is famous for writing *The Count of Monte Cristo* and *The Three Musketeers*, but his father's real adventures as a black general under Napoleon were as epic as either of those tales.

9 THE FIRST FOUR NOTES

Matthew Guerrieri

The notes in question are in Beethoven's *Fifth*, the most famous opening in the classical canon. Guerrieri follows them through cultural history, from their first inspiration to *Saturday Night Fever*.

8 PEOPLE WHO EAT DARK

Michael Kimmelman

This powerful work of true-crime storytelling chronicles the death of Lucie Blackman, a 21-year-old hostess at a Tokyo bar, who disappeared in the summer of 2000.

7 DEARIE *Holly Spitz* In Spitz's lively biography, Julia Child emerges as not just a hugely influential cook but also a catalyst for epochal change in the way people feel about who they are and what they eat.

6 WILD *Cheryl Strayed*

After losing her mother to cancer and losing herself in drugs, the young Strayed decided to take a hike. *Wild* weaves her three months on the Pacific Crest Trail with memories of her mother's life and death.

5 ARE YOU MY MOTHER?

Lisbeth Bechdel

A sequel of sorts to *Fun Home*, Bechdel's moving graphic memoir about her father, this one focuses on her mother—a writer and actress whose career went nowhere—and on Bechdel's own rocky romantic and psychiatric history.

POP MUSIC

1 | FIONA APPLE

The Idler Wheel Is Wiser than the Driver of the Screw and Whipping Cords Will Serve You More than Ropes Will Ever Do

A magnificent meltdown from a songwriter who describes herself as "a tulip in a cup": catastrophic states of mind translated into unnervingly perky tunes and precisely turned phrases, polished until they gleam, then stripped to a skeleton, then polished again. *The Idler Wheel* is a very, very raw album musically and emotionally—it's little more than Apple's voice and piano and Charley Drayton's percussion, and it opens with a ditty about panic attacks—but it's also wry, playful and self-aware, and Apple's voice sparkles in the unforgiving light of its arrangements.

2 | KENDRICK LAMAR

Good Kid, M.A.A.D City

The most promising artist in hip-hop was born in Compton, Calif., in 1987, at about the same time as gangsta rap. His first major-label album is as elegiac as it is celebratory—a memoir of a life spent immersed in the music that's changed the lives of everyone around him, for better and for worse. Lamar's absorbed so much from every major MC you can name that he can evoke any era and region of rap with a few seconds of his delivery, and his words resonate: on "Good Kid," he calls out gang members who "step on my neck and get blood on your Nike checks."

3 | FRANK OCEAN

Channel Orange

He came out shortly before his debut album did, but Frank Ocean's sexual orientation isn't the big story about him. He's an extraordinary singer-songwriter, an R&B original who made his reputation with an online mixtape (*Nostalgia, Ultra*) and whose album heralds a unique sound. There are hints of Prince and Elton John here, as well as guest appearances by John Mayer and Odd Future's Earl Sweatshirt and a 10-minute suite that conflates Cleopatra with a contemporary stripper. Mostly, though, *Channel Orange* is about Ocean's singing and narrative voice: supple and

sly, never quite saying everything they know.

4 | DIRTY PROJECTORS

Swing Low, Sweet Chariot

Dave Longstreth's art-rock band takes a lot of risks, not the least of which is being almost insufferably quirky. Still, every studied gesture of weirdness or abrupt volte-face in these songs ends up taking them someplace thrilling, as when the sailor's knot melody of "About to Die" splits the difference between Arnold Schoenberg and Burt Bacharach or when the band's creamy harmonies on "Gun Has No Trigger" cling to a rhythm that's riddled with deliberately preserved human error.

5 | GETATCHEW MEKURIA & THE EX & FRIENDS

Y'Anbessaaw Tazeta

The septuagenarian Ethiopian jazz saxophonist Getatchew Mekuria has collaborated with





TOP 5 SONGS

"CLIMAX"

Usher

If never gets to a climax, Usher denies listeners the pleasure of a destination—and instead we focus on the thrill of every moment.

"GANGNAM STYLE"

Psy

Twenty years from now, this will be remembered as the song of 2012—a mind-bendingly catchy lampoon that turned into a global obsession.

"CALL ME MAYBE"

Carly Rae Jepsen

Listen past the incredible arrangement: synthesized orchestral strings playing a tense pizzicato loop through the verses and stabbing at Jepsen's voice like fireworks.

"WE ARE NEVER EVER GETTING BACK TOGETHER"

Taylor Swift

A great vernacular pop performance: Swift twangs the way teen girls often talk, with high-rising terminals, vocal fry and "like" for emphasis, until it turns into music.

"MASTER OF MY CRAFT"

Parquet Courts

The opening track on the New York City quartet's debut *Light Up Gold* is a swift, urgent smackdown: "Funked up abit" singer-guitarist Austin Brown snarls. ■ *hook*

the Dutch punk-rock band the Ex intermittently since 2004, and though they're an unlikely combination (and can barely communicate in words), they have incredible chemistry. Mekuria played with the Ex again for his farewell album: an instrumental set of Ethiopian folk and pop songs he loves, with the Ex's twitchy grooves set on simmer rather than broil.

6 SWANS *The Seer*

Thirty years ago, New York City institution Swans were playing grinding, ugly noise. Fifteen years ago, they were playing quiet, gorgeous dirges. Now front man Michael Gira, the Cormac McCarthy of rock 'n' roll, has found a third path: the sound of a celestial sledgehammer descending. *The Seer* takes its time with listeners in much the same way that a cat takes its time with a mouse, and it's surprisingly delicate and gentle in places.

Bit by bit, though, these songs bear down and become an apocalyptic show of force.

7 VARIOUS ARTISTS

Blind Faith Live

A brilliant idea for a compilation, beautifully executed: 16 recordings of music and spoken word—and sometimes the areas where they overlapped—from the heyday of the American black-power movement. Some of it is great on its own (like Gil Scott-Heron's "Winter in America" or Stokely Carmichael's 1968 speech on behalf of Huey Newton); some of it is made fascinating by its context (like John Lennon and Yoko Ono's earnest, clunky "Angela").

8 THE MOUNTAIN GOATS *Transcendental*

John Darnielle's still writing about people who are lying in the gutter and aren't sure where

the stars went, but he keeps expanding the sound around them: this time, the Mountain Goats have added a horn section that throws Darnielle's tart bray into sharper relief. *Transcendental Youth* is a grim, grim album. When the horns radiate around Darnielle's voice on the title track as he sings about a vision of ascending heavenward "on air gone black with flies," it's a moment of both glory and terror.

9 AZEALIA BANKS

She doesn't have an official album out yet, just this four-song taster. (Admirers are directed to her mixtape *Fantasea*.) But her breakout "212" established her as a show-offishly gifted rapper, and the rest of 1991 backs up what it promised. Banks has a taste for club beats, an X-rated sense of humor and a knack for spectacular multi-syllable rhymes.

10 KILLER MIKE

Nine years after "A.D.I.D.A.S." became his only substantial hit, this Atlanta hip-hop fixture made a knockout album with an agenda that doesn't even hint at pop crossover. *R.A.P. Music* is tough, lean, assured and bubbling over with political fury—the work of an artist who knows how hard he can strike.

GAMES

1 GUILD WARS 2 (PC)

A massively multiplayer game devoted to keeping you entertained by the minute? So many make the claim, but this one actually pulls it off. Drop by for a fine-tuned fantasy romp in a battle-saturated world; stay for the unparalleled diversions. *Guild Wars 2* offers a seductively volatile world, lending it the sort of compulsive appeal that other MMOs only dream of.

2 XENOBLADE CHRONICLES (WII)

Gamemaking on an Olympic scale. It's Japanese-style role-playing (read: eclectic fantasy) that pits you against a race of

deadly mechanical creatures, the campaign staged across the frozen bodies of two planetoid-size combatants. With its ever deepening battle system and grand expanses inhabited by hundreds of exotic creatures, it pulls off a trick few games do: keeping you riveted while making that bid for your attention seem effortless.

3 XCOM: ENEMY UNKNOWN (PC, PS3, XBOX 360)

A turn-based, isometric strategy game that's part *X-Files*, part *Fringe*, *XCOM* distills the best parts of what made the original

1994 PC game so compelling. You'll deploy an alien-hunting squad to creep through buildings after dark, hunker along curbs, park benches and water fountains and even explore a firelit forest after a UFO crash—all while working to bolster your top-secret research base and unearth the aliens' inscrutable plot.

4 DISHONORED (PC, PS3, XBOX 360)

Set in a steampunk, Victorian-style universe, *Dishonored* offers sandbox-style levels you



can traverse any way you like, either avoiding combat or revelling in it. You'll sort through objects strewn on shelves, empty bottles, teacups, coins and audiograph players that offer snippets of story. Choosing violence or nonviolence has real consequences, transforming the story line.

5 ASSASSIN'S CREED III (WII U, PC, PS3, XBOX 360)

Five years after we first poked our hook-cowled heads into the weird world of protagonist Desmond Miles, *Assassin's Creed III* stages the series' epic finale during the American Revolution. Instead of belfries or minarets, you'll clamber over colonial rooftops and dangle from eaves and gables as you fraternize with George Washington and Samuel Adams, assassinating their enemies in service of the revolution.

By Matt Peckham

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Joel Stein



The Year of the Bad Call. There was a word for people who approached decisionmaking rationally: losers

SURE, PEOPLE ALWAYS MISCALCULATE. We drink too much at a party, scrape our side mirrors, spend \$3.8 trillion while taking in only \$2.5 trillion in taxes. We are risk takers at heart: fracking shale, driving with Amanda Bynes and reading poorly written S&M novels in public. But risk takers are not the people who messed up in 2012. This year, reasonable people went wrong making wise decisions and getting totally hosed. This was the year of the bad call.

NFL owners thought no one would notice if they used replacement refs during a labor dispute, since all refs—zebras—dress exactly the same. Then the scab refs blew the outcome of a *Monday Night Football* game so dramatically that when the owners settled with the pro refs, fans were so thrilled that they waited an entire week before yelling at their TVs about how stupid the pro refs are. After two years of editorials warning that the Supreme Court's *Citizens United* decision was going to let rich people control politics, rich people reasonably tried to control politics. And failed. Conservative billionaires such as Sheldon Adelson, the Koch brothers and Foster Freiss wasted more than \$200 million, which they could have done simply by paying higher taxes.

It all seemed so safe. After all, how could you lose by getting in on the Facebook IPO? What permanent stain on our musical culture could be left by just clicking on a link to a Korean rapper's YouTube video? Who's going to see this small, microbudget Middle Eastern action movie financed by a wacky Coptic Christian guy? How could Egyptians get upset about Mohamed Morsi's grabbing a little more power right after he cut the Palestinians a sweet deal with Israel? Why not give an Oscar-winning

octogenarian icon the chair he's requested just before speaking at the Republican Convention? What is a more reasonable newsmagazine cover line right before the Supreme Court's Obamacare decision than one calling Justice Anthony Kennedy "The Decider"?

Meanwhile, the gamblers all won. A little remote-control car thrilled people with its double-bank-shot landing on Mars despite the fact—it proved by the film *John Carter*—that no one cares about Mars. That Austrian Evel Knievel guy Felix Baumgartner safely parachuted to earth from some sort of a spaceship while—and this was the crazy part—hopped up on Red Bull. Scientists found the Higgs boson despite the fact that every time they went to look for it, they first had to spend three hours explaining it to everyone. The White House defended Obamacare with an argument so dumb that the conservative Supreme Court actually laughed at it, despite the fact that—as with Lindsay Lohan's Lifetime movie about Elizabeth

Taylor—no one was trying to be funny. Frank Ocean ignited his career of singing sexy songs to a black audience with a Tumblr post about his relationship with a man. DreamWorks made a hit movie out of a Doris Kearns Goodwin book. In the most insane yet successful risk of all, Germany bankrolled the 3,000-year-old Greek civilization for another year.

Some bad calls did, of course, seem dumb at first. Yes, eating a bowl of spaghetti and drinking a glass of milk right before singing and dancing onstage is pretty much guaranteed to lead to stage barfing, but it might have seemed like a conservative preshow choice, assuming Justin Bieber had just read the Dean Martin biography. And sure, General David Petraeus got into a mess by sleeping with a woman jealous of a busty identical twin who got shirtless e-mails from a federal agent that she hid from her indebted cancer-surgeon husband, but that may have seemed normal to Petraeus if, as I assume, he watches nothing but television. And, O.K., it was sort of dumb of Prince Harry to party without clothes in a Vegas hotel, but in his defense, who wants to look at a naked ginger?

Saddest of all were the bad calls by the most reasonable people, non-Tea Party Republicans. They methodically parsed their options against a weak President in a bad economy and thought, That good-looking Mormon guy who ran a huge company, the moderate governor from Massachusetts, the God-fearing robot who can't get caught drinking, gambling, screwing around or sipping Coke—he won't say anything stupid on the campaign trail.

When you have this many bad calls, you wind up accomplishing nothing. After all that sound and fury, we end 2012 exactly where we started it: same President, same health care law, same debt issues, same economy, same Middle East instability, same inability to find Bieber barf on eBay. We are massless bosons who never made it through the Higgs field. If we continue to be so safe, we're going to be in a lot of trouble.



10 Questions

McKellen counts Monica Lewinsky among his pals. He took her to a London premiere in 1998.



British actor and gay-rights activist Ian McKellen on Gandalf's sex drive, hotel Bibles and that new monarch-to-be

You're playing Gandalf again in *The Hobbit*. If Tolkien were alive, what would you ask him? Well, I don't know. He is of a time gone by. Would he still be smoking today? Would he be the sort of Catholic who wouldn't understand why someone like me would be openly gay and think myself God's creature as he was?

Anything you'd ask him about Gandalf?

We could imagine what he hadn't already revealed. Gandalf must be awfully frustrated sexually. Or maybe after 7,000 years, it doesn't matter anymore.

You've long been highly regarded in the theater. At some point you also became a movie star. Was that a deliberate choice on your part?

It was chance and luck. [I'd been] doing *Richard III* for many weeks, months, around the world onstage. Then it occurred to me it might make a very good film. I wrote the screenplay and produced it. And I think it was the first time film people thought, Oh, he could be one of us. He's not someone who just shouts in the evening.

Is there a playwright you don't like?

Agatha Christie. I've done a couple of her plays—misery, rubbish. No sense of what human beings are at all.

You've been a longtime advocate for gay rights. Had it been legal, would you have liked to marry?

I always thought the one advantage of being gay was that you didn't have to get married. But who knows? If someone gets

down on one knee and asks me, it might be irresistible.

Do you still rip Leviticus 18 out of hotel Bibles?

Yes. And I have people who send me the page, tied together, saying, 'If you want to hang that up in the smallest room in the house, that'll do.'

You were an early blogger. What made you start?

I'm told I invented blogging, but I called it e-posts. I kept a regular diary when we were doing *Lord of the Rings* because so many people were interested in the films.

Speaking of social media, you recently crossed swords with New Zealand's Prime Minister and the Moscow mayor. Why? They'd both done stupid things—in Moscow, banning a gay-pride march, and the Prime Minister of New Zealand carelessly used the word *gay* to mean weird, odd. He said, "I'm only using the word in the way my kids use it," not understanding his responsibility as a parent would be to point out to his kids that it's a rather cruel use of the word.

Are you excited about the new member of the royal family?

I don't feel that strongly about the royal family, but it is a matter of constant fascination that we are subjects—we are not citizens. Our national anthem is not in praise of the country but of the reigning monarch. So, easy to see how that is unhelpful in a democracy. And yet the Brits seem to be at ease with the situation.

Gandalf says Bilbo will surprise people. What has most surprised you about yourself?

I'm not surprised but disappointed that I haven't become more assertive. When I started out, I supposed that by this time I would be a bit wiser.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

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TIME

Want to Know My Future?

A central image of a baby sitting cross-legged, looking directly at the viewer. Behind the baby is a large, branching diagram representing genetic risks. The branches start from various diseases listed in boxes and point to the baby, symbolizing how genetic tests can identify future health risks.

- Alzheimer's
- Asthma
- Breast cancer
- Colon cancer
- Huntington's disease
- Parkinson's
- Glaucoma
- Diabetes
- Cancer
- Dementia
- Hemochromatosis
- Cystic fibrosis
- Tay-Sachs disease
- Burkitt's lymphoma
- Malignant melanoma
- Prostate cancer
- Obesity
- Epilepsy

New genetic tests can point to risks—but not always a cure

BY BONNIE ROCHMAN

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